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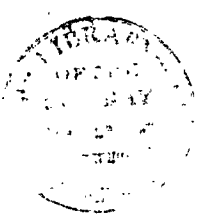
NARRATIVE

OF

A JOURNEY ACROSS

THE BALCAN,

ETC.



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LONDON:
J. MOYES, TOOK'S COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

NARRATIVE

OF

A JOURNEY ACROSS

THE BALCAN,

BY THE

TWO PASSES OF SELIMNO AND PRAVADI;

ALSO OF

A VISIT TO AZANI,

AND OTHER

NEWLY DISCOVERED RUINS IN ASIA MINOR,

IN THE YEARS 1829-30.

X b 27,

BY

MAJOR, THE HON^BLE GEORGE KEPPEL, *F.S.A.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LONDON:

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1831.

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK,

DUKE OF SUSSEX, K. G.

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,

&c. &c. &c.

THESE VOLUMES

ARE HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

WITH SINCERE FEELINGS OF AFFECTION AND RESPECT,

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

EVER GRATEFUL AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

London, March 14, 1831.

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ERRATA.

Page 1, line 5, *for* campaigns, *read* campaign.
— 63, — 20, *for* were speedily, *read* was speedily.
— 76, — 12, *for* landing at the seraglio, *read* landing at Scutari, opposite the seraglio.
— 94, — 1, *for* Imaun *read* Imaum, *hic et passim.*

Map of
A PART OF
The Turkish Provinces
OF
ROUMELIA & BULGARIA,
shewing the Authors journey across
TWO PASSES of the BALCAN.
BLACK SEA
SEA OF MARMORA
Longitude East from Greenwich.

NARRATIVE,

ETC. ETC.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory — Choice of Routes — Steam Packet from Ancona to Corfu — General Muffling — Otranto — Corfu — Zante — Embark on board H.M.S. Rattlesnake — Lepantò — Corinth — A Palikari Chieftain — Garrison of Corinth — American Philhellenic Association — Egina — The Piræus — A Greek Renegade and Parricide.

In the summer of 1829, public attention was directed to the war which was then pending between Russia and Turkey.

The ill success which had attended the Russian arms in the preceding campaigns had produced an impression unfavourable to their military character, while it had proportionably raised in estimation the troops to whom they were opposed.

This opinion of Turkish superiority was strengthened by the improvements which, it

was alleged, had been introduced into the Mahometan army. They were formed on an European model, and were able to compete with an European force. The Turkish sovereign, the destroyer of the Janizaries, had overcome the prejudices of his birth and education, and was one of the most enlightened monarchs in Europe. By the wisdom of his measures, a radical reform had been established, not only in the army, but in every department of church and state.

A previous intercourse with the Turks had given me a more than usual interest in the question: I determined to visit the country myself, and to bring home a faithful record of all that I saw, heard, or felt, which should serve as data to ascertain how far these conjectures were founded in fact.

My first intention had been to hover on the rear of the Turkish army, in order to observe their operations and mode of warfare. Had the campaign lasted, I feel confident that I should have had no difficulty in putting my projects in execution; but the Fates ordered it otherwise. The Russians spared me the

trouble, by beating the Turks before I could get up to them.

My first object was to reach Constantinople: two modes presented themselves of arriving at my destination; the one through the Austrian dominions and the European provinces of Turkey; the other by France, Italy, Greece, and the Archipelago islands. The former was uncertain and precarious. As I could not learn whether the communication was open between Vienna and Constantinople, I adopted the latter route.

June 13, 1829. An extra mail coach leaves Lombard Street for Dover every Wednesday and Saturday, at a quarter of an hour after midnight. By this conveyance I started on the 13th of June, 1829, being the thirtieth anniversary of my birthday. I stepped on board the packet, with the letters, at ten, and was immediately afterwards in full steam across the British Channel. I disembarked at Calais, and proceeded through France, Switzerland, and Italy.

I had hoped to have fallen in at Ancona with the British government steam-packet,

which goes periodically to and from Corfu; but I discovered that this vessel had just gone; and I learned, what may be of use to a future traveller, that I could not have obtained a passage on board her without either an order from the Colonial Office, or from Sir Frederick Adam, the lord high commissioner of the Ionian islands. Foiled in this intent, I went to Naples, and had secured a place in the diligence to Otranto, when I heard that a Neapolitan man-of-war was under sailing orders for Smyrna, to convey thither a Prussian general and his staff.*

* The general for whom this vessel was in readiness, was of the name of Muffling. He had come round from Berlin, and was going on a special mission to Constantinople from the King of Prussia, to signify the Emperor of Russia's desire of peace. This, of course, was before the successes of the great autocrat. I heard of the general at Constantinople, but did not meet him: he arrived there on the 6th of August. He is a corpulent man, rather advanced in years. On his first visit to the Reis Effendy, or Turkish foreign secretary, that minister said to him: "Well, general, what proposal from the emperor have you to lay before us with regard to peace?" The general replied, that he was merely instructed to assure the Porte that the emperor was pacifically inclined.

As our minister, Mr. Hill, was indisposed, Sir Henry Lushington was so kind as to apply for a passage for me in the same ship; but the answer not arriving in the evening, I resolved not to wait for it, but to proceed by the diligence, in company with Captain Boileau, of the rifle brigade, and went to Otranto, whence, at the expiration of three days, we embarked for Corfu, on board a sailing packet in the employment of the British government, and reached that island on the evening of the 21st of July. On the 24th we embarked on board the steam-boat which plies between the Ionian Islands, and anchored off the town of Zante at five in the afternoon of the following day.

July 26. Dined with Lord Charles Fitzroy, the British resident of the island. Overlooking the town is a conical-shaped hill, on the top of which is a gibbet with three arms. From these

"Upon my word, then, general," rejoined the Reis Effendy, "I wonder that a man of your age and corpulency should have undertaken so long and fatiguing a journey on so trifling an errand, seeing that we have had the same assurance on the faith of nearly every ambassador."

the bodies of three men were suspended in chains. They had been executed by order of General Campbell. When I was on duty at Zante, some years ago, this gibbet was called by our soldiers "General Campbell's direction-post." The fatal tree, with its former complement of bodies, met my eye, as I was taking my ride this afternoon. "What! my old friends there still?" was my observation to an old Zantiote acquaintance. "Oh, no," was the reply: "your friends have been removed; but as fresh examples have been found necessary, the bodies you see belong to a new set of murderers!"

A *scampavia,* or row-boat, is employed by the Ionian government to assist in maintaining a communication with the British resident in Greece. If the traveller could procure a passage in this boat, it would land him at Pyrgos; in three days' journey on horseback he would cross the Morea to Argos, whence he might easily obtain a passage in some vessel going towards or direct to Smyrna, from which place he would find no difficulty in proceeding to Constantinople.

It was by this route that I intended to have gone myself, if a more agreeable mode of travelling had not presented itself.

Captain Finucane, an old brother-officer, was charged with despatches to Mr. Dawkins, our resident in Greece. His majesty's ship Rattlesnake was to convey him as far as Corinth, and the captain of the Rattlesnake, the Hon. Charles Bridgeman, was so obliging as to give me also a passage in the frigate.

July 28. I dined this evening with Sir Frederick Adam, under whose command I had been at Corfu, in 1817. Captain Finucane and myself embarked at midnight, and Captain Bridgeman immediately weighed, and sailed; but, the wind blowing directly in our teeth, we did not reach Cape Papas till the evening.

July 29. The wind still foul. In passing Missolunghi, a white house was pointed out to me as that in which Byron died. When the Rattlesnake was here last, a Greek army was besieging the town.

At noon, we passed the castles of Roumelia and Morea, which defend the mouth of the

Gulf of Lepantò. We saw, flying on the ramparts of the Morea fort, the ensigns of Russia, France, and England.

At Lepantò (as the Greeks pronounce it, laying a strong accent on the last syllable), there were two Greek brigs of war at anchor; one of them, the Epaminondas, was commanded by a son of Admiral Miaulis. There were also a few gun-boats off the town. Lepantò is apparently a wretched place, but is picturesque, from its cypresses, mosques, and minarets. On one of these last, the Greeks had erected a cross over the crescent.

The fortifications, on the land side, consist of two parallel crenellated walls, which run up the side of the hill, and terminate in a small heptagon fort. The place is evidently commanded in several points; yet though it was garrisoned by a mere handful of Turks, five thousand Greeks were compelled, after many ineffectual attacks, to raise the siege.

From the appearance of Lepantò, I should say, that three or four field-pieces might have taken the citadel, and the capture of the town

would have followed of course. The Greeks had a post out of the range of the musketry of the highest part of the citadel.

At eight in the evening, we arrived off Vostizza. A few years ago it contained three thousand inhabitants. The population is now considerably reduced ; but it is better off than most other towns in the Peloponnesus. I believe that the neighbourhood of this town was not ravaged by the troops of Ibrahim Pasha ; but Patrass, which Captain Finucane saw on his return, was one complete ruin.

July 30-31. At noon we were off the bay of Salona, and early the next morning we anchored off Corinth. Captain Finucane and myself landed at a mile and a half below the town. We met on the beach a Greek engineer officer, a native of Cephalonia ; he conducted us to the Governor of Corinth, also a Cephaloniote. This last personage wore the highly picturesque Albanian dress, which has been very generally in vogue amongst the Greeks since the Revolution. He was remarkably civil ; but, like all his countrymen with whom

I have conversed, highly discontented with the arrangements of the great powers with regard to Greece.

From the governor's we went to a miserable coffee-house, which was filled with *Palikari* (irregular Greek troops), a wild, undisciplined banditti. They were all dressed as Albanese, were covered with embroidery, and begrimed with dirt. The chief of the party, already half tipsy, was hastening to complete this happy state. With his legs crossed, his pipe in one hand, a cup of strong red wine in the other, and with each arm supported by the butts of his pistols, he did the honours of the coffee-house to us strangers, with half-closed eyes, and with a drunken formality that was highly entertaining.

There were some Greeks here who spoke Italian: they were very eloquent on the defeat of Brama Ali, between this place and Argos.

The town of Corinth is one heap of ruins; a few newly-built huts are the only habitations now standing. Bones of men and horses lie scattered amongst the rubbish of fallen houses,

and attest the last bloody massacre which visited this once prosperous town.

A Cephaloniote has been commissioned by the government to erect some public buildings, and the governor's house is in progress. Near the site of this building, the workmen employed in clearing away the rubbish have discovered five Doric columns, belonging, I believe, to a temple dedicated to Apollo.

There were five hundred troops in the Acropolis. They were mean, dirty-looking lads, and were all wretchedly clothed. The garrison is commanded by a Hanoverian.

The governor furnished us each with a saddle-horse, and we hired two others for our baggage. We were discussing the chance of obtaining a boat on the opposite side, when an old Greek called out, "I give boat, sir; I once live in Piccadilly." We immediately accepted the traveller's services, who forthwith overwhelmed us with gibberish, which he evidently intended to pass off as English on the group of staring, untravelled *palikari* by whom he was surrounded. Our baggage packed, we

proceded across the isthmus. The distance is six miles.

There was considerable cultivation near Corinth. To the westward we observed some vineyards and olive-groves. The fruit of the olive is an important article of food with the Greeks.

We passed the remains of an amphitheatre, and afterwards came to a village founded by a Philhellenic Association of Americans. It is under the direction of one of their countrymen, named Howe, who resided in a hut close to the village. We wished much to have visited this meritorious gentleman, but he was suffering for his philanthropy, being confined to his bed by a severe attack of fever. He had been furnished with means to promote the Greek cause, but found, upon his arrival, that the money would be made most available in forwarding that object, by bringing the people to industrious habits. Accordingly, with the co-operation of Count Capo d'Istria, he collected together, from different parts of Greece, such persons as had neither money nor means of subsistence, and

formed a colony of them. These plains were given up to him for the purpose, free for five years from all imposts. At first the colony consisted of only fifty families, but they increased to upwards of a hundred in a little more than three years. I heard, afterwards, that Count Capo d'Istria, its *quondam* protector, having changed in his disposition towards this nucleus of Greek regeneration, had, by various means, latterly so disgusted Dr. Howe, that he has determined upon withdrawing from the country.

Two or three fishermen's huts on the opposite side of the isthmus comprise the village of Kerkhus. Here we dismissed the cattle, and gave each two dollars for the trip. My journey through Italy cost a hundred pounds, — that through Greece a hundred pence.

We now embarked on board the fishing-boat we had hired; but had not been more than two hours under weigh when it fell calm. Our boat being principally intended for sailing, we made but slow progress, though our crew kept continually tugging at the oar; so we were obliged to pass the remainder of this day, and the whole

of the following night, with our backs resting on the heap of stones which formed the ballast of the boat.

August 1. We arrived off Egĭnă* at daylight in the morning, immediately landed, and proceeded to the house of Mr. Dawkins. Captain Finucane then delivered his despatches, and, after dressing at the small inn in the town, we returned to breakfast with the British resident.

Two British men-of-war, the Wasp and the Mosquito, were at anchor off the town. We met their commanders, Captains Hoste and Bentham, at breakfast. The former of these gentlemen, himself a highly meritorious officer, is the brother of the late gallant Sir William Hoste, whose name holds so conspicuous a place in the records of British valour, and is included in that list of naval heroes for which my native county of Norfolk stands so pre-eminent.

We were now so near Athens, that we

* The Greeks pronounce the word Égĭnă, and not Egīnă, laying the stress upon the syllable over which the accent is marked.

thought it would be a pity to leave this country without paying it a visit. We had but to express the wish. My kind countryman, Captain Hoste, immediately ordered the corvette to be got ready for sea, and purposed, while my fellow-traveller and myself were occupied in viewing the antiquities, to complete his stock of water in the Piræus.

Pipes and breakfast over, we were again gliding over the deep, but in a much more agreeable manner. Instead of lying exposed to the influence of a burning sun on a dirty open Greek boat, we were lounging under an excellent awning, on the spotless deck of a British man-of-war.

August 2. We landed in the Piræus early in the morning, a party of nineteen from the ship. We sent to the Bey of Athens to inform him of our arrival, and remained near the beach awaiting his answer.

We were here joined by several of the Turkish outlying picket, to whom we made ourselves welcome by giving a few glasses of rum. They were all Albanians, with the exception of the officer, who was a Turk. Behind

this man was his pipe-bearer, a good-looking young Greek, who had a short time before robbed and murdered his father and several of his family. He had adopted the usual mode of evading the punishment due to his crime, — he turned Mahometan. The commission of these horrid acts, and of his subsequent abandonment of his religion, were so recent, that he had not had time to change his dress, and still retained the long hair and the small skull-cap peculiar to the creed and country he had abjured. The recital of his misdeeds, which was given in his presence, attracted the eyes of our party towards him: our observation of him raised a blush on his guilty cheek, and caused him to retire in confusion from our scrutinising gaze.

CHAPTER II.

Expedition to Athens — A Greek's Head — Visit the Bey — Ruined State of Modern Athens — Return to Egina — Prince Mavrocordato — We hear of the Russians' Advance across the Balcan — Napoli di Romania — Visit from Admiral Miaulis — Admiral Rosamel — Count Heyden — Admiral Lazaroff — Greek Legislative Assembly — Interview with Count Capo d'Istria — His Policy — The Fort of Palamedes — Civil Strife.

In two hours, some horses, ponies, and asses, were sent down for our party, with two or three Turkish horsemen as an escort. In the absence of Captain Hoste, who was unwell, the bey's own charger was assigned to me: the rest of the party shifted for themselves; some rode and tied, others walked, and nearly all the horses carried double. Behind each Turkish cavalier, was a little midshipman perched *en croupe*. The additional burden seemed in no way to affect the agility of the riders, who scoured across the plain full gallop,

brandishing their swords, discharging their bullets, and occasionally halting, to detail to us, in *lingua franca*, some lie respecting the Greeks they had killed with their own hands.

We entered the gates of Athens, which were guarded by regular Turkish troops, and proceeded to visit the bey, who lived in a house wretched enough, but the best in the town. The first object that met our view in the court-yard, was the head of a Greek hanging up by its long hair: by the appearance of the features, and the slightness of the mustachio, it was that of a very young man.

We partook of pipes, coffee, and sweet-meats, and offered in return that without which we should have been most unwelcome visitors, —a hamper containing six bottles of rum.

Our interpreter was a Frank doctor, in the new Turkish uniform. The bey was very anxious that we should induce our Ionian traders to send some ships round laden with provisions, as the garrison was in a state little short of starvation. There was an Austrian brig in the harbour while we were there, but she was not molested, though the Greeks

affected to declare the place in a state of blockade.

The visit of ceremony performed, we went over the ruins. Ancient Athens has survived its successor; the pillars of majestic temples still stand, while shapeless heaps are nearly the only indications of the modern town. With the exception of the Turkish garrison, a few squalid-looking Greeks, who cultivated the fields in the vicinity of the town, were the only population to be seen.

After we had visited every thing worthy of notice within the walls, we went outside to see the superb temple of Adrian, walking in perfect ease and security between the Turkish garrison on our right hand, and the Greek army, who were in possession of the heights, at no great distance, on our left.

We were told by the doctor, that hostilities consisted in the Greeks occasionally making a sally into the plains, and attempting to carry off a few head of cattle; a slight skirmish generally ensued, and the Greeks took or abandoned their booty, as the chance of the day decided.

In returning to the ship, as we were gal-

loping down the hill which faces the temple of Theseus, the bey's horse stumbled on a loose stone, fell with me under him, and laid me up for a month with a sprained ancle.

We weighed and sailed, and anchored off Egina the next morning.

During my stay at Egina, I had the honour of being presented to Prince Mavrocordato, one of the few Greeks whose honesty has proved inaccessible to a bribe.

From Egina I had intended to have proceeded forthwith to Constantinople, in the hope of being able to witness the operations of the Turkish army; but this project was overturned by the intelligence we here received, that the Russians had crossed the Balcan. As I did not consider the moment of defeat or retreat the best to visit a Mahometan army, I determined, for the present, patiently to await the tide of events.

Misfortunes never come singly: a few minutes after the news of the Russians' advance had reached the Grand Signior, dense clouds of smoke, arising out of the town of Galata, announced to him one of those tremen-

dous fires with which the Turkish metropolis and its suburbs are so frequently visited.

August 5. This evening, Le Trident, the French flag-ship, with the admiral, M. Rosamel, on board, arrived here to convey M. Rouen, the French minister, to Argos, where the Greek legislative assembly was about to hold a meeting. Mr. Dawkins at the same time was to take his passage in the Wasp. This expedition seemed to me so eligible, that I accepted Captain Hoste's invitation to make the cruise with him.

August 7. Mr. Dawkins embarked on the 7th: we immediately weighed and sailed, and anchored off Napoli di Romania on the afternoon of the 8th.

We found at anchor four Russian men-of-war, two line-of-battle ships, a frigate, and a brig; also a few French and Greek vessels. The Greek flag-ship was the Hellas, built by the Americans. It is, perhaps, one of the most beautiful ships in the world. It ought to be so; for it is all the poor Greeks have got out of their famous loan of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

As we entered the harbour, the Wasp fired

the customary salutes, which were returned by the flag-ships of the respective nations to which the compliment was paid.

We had scarcely ceased firing, when Admiral Miaulis (for whom the honour, as highest in rank, was principally intended) came on board, and paid a visit to Mr. Dawkins and Captain Hoste.

The admiral is a stout, square-built man, with a remarkably good-humoured countenance. He wore the Greek red scull-cap, the fore-part of his head was shaved, a profusion of bushy grey hair covered his shoulders, and the space between the lip and the nostrils was completely overshadowed by mustachios of the same colour. A tight vest enclosed the upper part of his body, a large red shawl was wrapped round his loins, and the huge breeches of his country added not a little to the natural portliness of his person. He chatted with us very agreeably for a quarter of an hour: his manner and appearance reminded us all very forcibly of Fawcett in the character of Captain Copp, in the comedy of *Charles the Second.*

I was this afternoon introduced to Admiral Rosamel, and to the Russian admirals, Count Heyden and Lazaroff. This last is supposed to be one of the best officers in the Russian navy; he learned his profession with us, having served his time as a midshipman with Captain (now Admiral) Maitland, C. B. who, in 1829, commanded the Wellesley, one of the squadron in the Archipelago.

War was at this time confidently expected with Russia; and many a time did I hear expressed the wish, that Captain Maitland might be granted an opportunity of giving the finishing touch to his Russian pupil's education.

Mr. Dawkins went this afternoon to Argos, to the house of Colonel Gordon, who owns nearly the only inhabitable house in the town.

August 10. The legislative assembly met this morning. Captain Hoste, Mr. Magra, (the surgeon of the corvette) and myself, started before daylight for Argos, to be present at their deliberations. The road led for a couple of miles by the sea-shore, along the edge of a

vast swamp which extends over the whole plain as far as Argos.

The assembly was sitting when we arrived: they had commenced their deliberations at daylight, and had been called together by beat of drum. The place of meeting was the ancient theatre, which (excepting those at Sparta and Ianina,) is the largest in European Greece. A temporary building had been erected, forming a semicircular succession of benches, on the site of the *scena*, and facing the *cavea*. This structure had no roof; but, like the most primitive Greek theatres, was covered in with boughs of trees. The summons to parliament by beat of drum had appeared rather too military for our fastidious notions of free discussion; but a more decisive mark of military interference here met our view. Like many other ancient theatres, this one at Argos is excavated on a hill: on the brow, at the upper benches of the *cavea*, were five pickets of *palikari*, so posted as to be able to fire down upon the assembled senators in case of emergency. There was, however, little chance of their services being required; for, by the wise arrangements of the president,

the assembly was disposed to be nearly unanimous in complying with any wish of his excellency.

The members present were about two hundred in number, and were for the most part dressed in the Albanian costume, which resembles in so many respects the ancient dress as always to bring to mind classical recollections; indeed, the whole scene was likely to produce this effect, for the orators spoke in language nearly Hellenic, and with abuse truly Homeric, the subject being one on which, in every age, this nation has always been most eloquent—the division of spoil. A sum of money had been granted to the troops who had taken a part in the late war, and the present meeting was to decide upon the mode in which it was to be divided; hence arose an animated discussion, in which the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, and other people of Greece, each insisted on their respective claims; and expressions of satisfaction from the one side, and of discontent from the other, assailed each orator in his turn.

Amongst the speakers this morning was

Colocotroni, once a clamorous patriot, but now a government man, in consideration (as report whispers) of the sum of eighteen thousand dollars. This man has played so conspicuous a part in the late Revolution, that I could not help remembering his name, though, if all who had yielded to the silver persuasion of the president were to be enumerated, it would be necessary to go through the list of nearly the whole parliament.

From the legislative assembly, our party returned to breakfast with Colonel Gordon: I was here presented to Monsieur Gropius, the Austrian minister, the same gentleman who is so roughly (and, as I was told, rather unfairly) handled by Lord Byron.

Before I returned on board the ship, Mr. Dawkins was so kind as to present me to Count Capo d'Istria.

His excellency is a man of small stature, with large dark eyes, black eyebrows, white hair, a very pale face (apparently the consequence of the anxiety attending his situation), and a pair of ears whose size has already been eulogised by a preceding tourist. I was in-

troduced as a traveller on his way to Constantinople, and I was gratified by about five and twenty minutes' very entertaining conversation, if conversation it could be called, when the only part I bore in it was the occasional interjections of "*oui*," "*mais*," and "*vraiment*." We were scarcely seated, when, without further preface, the president entered into what appeared to me to be a defence of his government. He began by repeating the usual arguments against the general diffusion of knowledge, alleging that instruction would be more detrimental than advantageous to the happiness of the Greeks in their present state: he said that it was impossible to legislate for a people who belonged to the eleventh, upon the principles of the nineteenth century. He observed that the greater portion of the Greeks were but little removed from the state of barbarians, but omitted to mention the number of patriotic and enlightened natives of Greece who were endeavouring to raise their countrymen from this degraded condition, or how assiduously he had himself been employed in undermining the laudable efforts of all such patriots. To some of his

remarks the answers were so obvious, that I was about to attempt a reply; but I never got further than "*mais*," for the point was abandoned without a struggle, and his observations were dexterously shifted to another subject.

Upon the whole, I was more entertained by the interview than convinced by the arguments, or impressed with the talents, of the speaker. There was something too dramatic in his manner, and the matter appeared to be too much got up to produce the effect intended. I afterwards compared notes with others who had also had the honour of an interview with the President of Greece, and found their reception to tally very much with my own.

A few facts relating to Count Capo d'Istria will illustrate his character better than a host of arguments.

In 1829, previous to the election of deputies for the Panhellenium, the president announced his intention of making a tour through the Morea, and applied to the French political agent, and to the admiral, for money to enable the peasantry to cultivate the lands, many of

which had gone out of cultivation for want of means. A large sum was advanced to him, which he distributed among the electors of the several places where he was doubtful of obtaining votes; the consequence of this bribery was, that he was elected for several places, which he filled with his own creatures, and obtained a chamber of deputies, as much at his command as if he had nominated every one. For the use he made of this power, it is only necessary to refer to the acts of the Panhellenium, which gave him undivided and despotic sway, and then to trace it up to the alarming representations he is said to have made to Prince Leopold.

I was not present when he opened the assembly, but I understand he came dressed in a Russian uniform.

I heard from an officer who was on board the Warspite in 1828, at the time Capo d'Istria was a passenger, that the conversation, almost every evening, turned upon the future prospects of Greece. The president discussed them with apparent frankness, and always deprecated that crooked policy of obtaining any thing

by lying, upon the principle of self-interest, which could not be obtained by straight-forward conduct.

When, however, any favourite notion was combated, he would get furious, would often call for his bed-candle, and retire in a passion to his cabin, particularly when, in discussing the limits of Greece, the Morea and its islands were suggested as the probable extent.

Amongst other subjects, the question, whether Candia would be included, frequently arose; and as often as it did, the president invariably declared that he would on no account have it, that it was too far off, and would be much more embarrassing than useful to him. H. M. brig Rifleman, on her return from Alexandria, brought accounts of the number of men-of-war and transports in the harbour, (there were nearly thirty pendants flying,) taking in corn and stores, and which were said to be preparing to sail to Candia, whence they might be forwarded to the Morea. This, and the evasive conduct of the Pasha of Egypt, and his son Ibrahim, induced the British Commander to detach a line-of-battle ship and a

frigate, to blockade Suda, and by that means to hasten the departure of Ibrahim.

In the course of the autumn, disturbances having broken out in Candia, a German, named Reineck, was sent to head the Greek insurgents, when a case of extermination took place, and the number of lives lost during it exceeds all belief. In no part of the struggle between the Greeks and the Turks, had such horrors been committed as those to which Candia was then a prey.

The English officer in command did all he could to check the slaughter, by remonstrating in the strongest terms with the Greek chief, but with no effect. During the winter an Egyptian corvette arrived at Suda, and finding a Greek brig at anchor, immediately boarded and took possession of her. It happened that the German chieftain was in the vessel. He had only time to jump overboard, and save himself by swimming on shore, leaving his papers in the brig: these were taken possession of, and falling into the hands of those who could read them, afforded the most undeniable proofs, that at the very time when Capo d'Istria was

declaring the desire of having nothing to do with Candia, he was writing to the different chiefs, and preparing the insurrection.

It is a pity that those who have the papers do not allow them to be published, that the world may behold the Russian Greek in his true colours. Forty-three (I may be incorrect in the exact number) of the members of the soi-disant national assembly are Candiotes, named, of course, by the president.

One instance out of a thousand will give an idea of the barbarities committed by the Greeks in Candia: among the Turks who fell into their hands, was a woman of sufficiently high station to induce them to spare her life in the hope of a large ransom. This was paid; but no sooner had they touched the money, than she was delivered over a victim to the licentious passion of sixteen Greek soldiers, and then released.

With a knowledge of the preceding remarks, it cannot but be supposed that the president is decidedly unpopular with the friends of the Greek cause. Born at Corfu, and inheriting all the peculiar cunning of his

nation, he commenced his diplomatic education at Venice, under the Austrians, and finished it at St. Petersburgh, under the Russians, in whose employ he still is, and by whose permission he at present holds the office of President of Greece. Thus imbued with the principles of the two most intriguing cabinets of the two most despotic countries in Europe, he is called upon to preside over the destinies of a people who have just made a successful struggle for freedom. What can be expected from such a selection?

Napoli di Romania is the strongest, perhaps nearly the only strong, hold the Greeks possess. The principal works consist in the fortifications of Palamedes, which occupy the heights that overhang the town. I was told, that a short time before I came, Count Heyden, in the expectation of a war with England, furnished the fort with guns, with the intention that they should be employed against us, in case of a rupture with our country.

Count Capo d'Istria has given the command of this fort to a Frenchman, it being his policy to conciliate France, and at the same time to

throw every kind of suspicion and odium upon England. It was in this spirit that the president dismissed General Church from the army, and Lord Cochrane from the navy: indeed, his whole system of politics is anti-English; and he is alike hostile to the regeneration of Greece, and to the interference of the British cabinet in its affairs.

While the war with Turkey was ravaging this unhappy country, two Greek chieftains turned the arms they should have wielded against the common foe of their creed and nation, against each other's breast. They fought for eight successive days, for the office of governor of the town—the one besieging, the other defending, the fort of Palamedes:

"Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

In this unnatural conflict of their leaders, four hundred Greeks fell.*

* Vide Appendix.

CHAPTER III.

Sail in H. M. S. Samarang — Join the British Squadron — Sham Fight — Arrive at Vourla — Austrian Espionage — Mitylène — Tenedos — Russian Admirals — Sail up the Dardanelles — Jewish Dragoman — Turkish Batteries — Curious Cause of Detention.

August 11. At two o'clock this morning, arrived his Majesty's ship Samarang, Captain Martin. She brought here as passenger Captain Thurlow, aide-de-camp to Sir Frederic Adam, with despatches from our ambassador for the lord high commissioner in the Ionian Islands. The moment the ship anchored, Captain Thurlow proceeded to Argos, whence, after an interview with Mr. Dawkins, he crossed the Peloponnesus to Pyrgos, and thence sailed to Corfu. This afternoon, Captain Martin dined on board the Wasp. Hearing of my wish to proceed to Constantinople, he was so obliging as to offer me a passage up the Archipelago, in the Samarang, which was to sail the next morning. Captain

Bentham, who was in daily expectation of joining the admiral, had been so kind as to propose taking me in the Mosquito; but as that opportunity was uncertain, I thankfully accepted Captain Martin's invitation; and after taking leave of Captain Hoste and my other kind shipmates, I accompanied my new acquaintance on board the Samarang.

August 12. Sailed from Napoli at daylight.

August 14. Spoke a Greek brig. We were told that she had left the admiral in the Dardanelles.

August 16. This morning we fell in with the British squadron off the island of Scio. I accompanied Captain Martin on board the Asia; and presented to Sir Pulteney Malcolm letters of introduction from Mr. (now Sir) Stratford Canning and Sir Frederick Adam. His excellency, with his usual kindness and attention to travellers, was so kind as to beg that whenever the duties of the service should require the Samarang, I would consider the flag-ship as my home.

We here heard that the Russians had en-

tered Adrianople, and that General Muffling, the Prussian minister, was in daily conference with the reis effendy.

For the next week we were cruising with the squadron, during which time I had an opportunity, which I am not likely to have again, of witnessing the manœuvres of a large naval force. We were kept constantly on the alert, and signals were always flying: sometimes we sailed in line, at others in column. Occasionally the signal was made of the enemy in sight and to give chase. The rates of sailing were tried, in which the two fine frigates, the Madagascar, the Hon. Sir Robert Spencer, and the Isis, were the competitors.

August 18. At noon on the 18th, the signal was made to prepare for action. The bulkheads were taken down, and the decks were cleared. The captains of the respective ships then went on board the Asia, to receive the admiral's instructions, and shortly after returned on board. The Wellesley and Spartiate, both 76 guns, having some severe cases of fever on board, were permitted to haul out of the line, consequently the Samarang, though carrying

only 28 guns, had the honour of taking her station as a line-of-battle ship. Our order of battle was in two lines, the weather being formed by the Asia and Ocean two-deckers, the Madagascar frigate, and the Musquito and Cordelia brigs: the lee line, by the Revenge and Windsor Castle two-deckers, Isis and Samarang frigates. At half-past twelve, we of the lee line hove to on the starboard tack; and having wore, the leading ship of the weather line commenced engaging us with blank cartridge, and in one moment completely enveloped our little craft with the smoke which issued from her tremendous broadside; each of our opponents followed the example. This done, we wore, and in our turn were given the weather gage. We repeated the manœuvre a second time, and the firing ceased.

To a fighter by land, a sea engagement is puzzling enough; all appears to be in confusion after the first few shots: the smoke is then so thick, that it must be difficult for the most practised eye of a captain to see what is going on beyond the quarter-deck of his own ship. Nelson probably thought of this when he observed,

that no officer could be far wrong who laid his ship alongside of an enemy.

During this sham engagement, one of the men who was coming aft was accidentally knocked down by the discharge of a moveable carronade, which is used for firing into the enemy's tops. The poor fellow's eyes were considerably injured; but he was fast recovering when I left the ship, a fortnight afterwards. This was the only casualty, though I nearly furnished another in my own person. I was snugly seated in the stern davits of the boat, and had just raised my head to take a better view of the action, when the marines came aft to "repel boarders," and off went two muskets, one just over my head, and another across my face; but, luckily for me, without doing any damage.

The business of the day partook of all the characteristics of a real action, and indeed almost of the excitement of one; for, as I said before, war was confidently expected by all hands, and the squadron considered this as the rehearsal of a tragedy which they should soon be called upon to perform.

We boarded several craft in our cruise: they were principally from Constantinople, and were, for the most part, filled with persons who had fled, panic struck, from the capital. They told us that dissatisfaction was universal; that trade was at a stand; and that the Russians were within a few hours' march of Constantinople.

August 20. On the morning of the 20th the squadron anchored at Vourla, a bay near the mouth of the Gulf of Smyrna.

The town (Clazomene of the ancients), situated on the slope of a mountain, embedded in evergreens, was visible a few miles distant.

As this was the first opportunity that had presented itself of communicating with the other ships. I sent a letter to the Hon. Duncombe Pleydell Bouverie, captain of the Windsor Castle, which had been given to me at Paris by his brother, Lord Radnor; and I had now the pleasure of making his acquaintance. I dined with him in the evening, and was introduced to Mrs. and Miss Bouverie. They had been some time on board, and had had the rare good fortune, for ladies, of having visited almost every remarkable place in the Archi-

pelago at this most interesting period. At Athens they were sumptuously entertained by the bey. I met at dinner an old friend, one of the officers of the Windsor Castle, the Hon. George Grey, whom I had last seen in Calcutta.

During my stay at anchor, I made the acquaintance of nearly all the officers of the squadron; amongst others, of Captain Maitland, under whom Admiral Lazaroff learned seamanship. Captain Maitland is the officer to whom Napoleon surrendered himself after his abdication in 1815.

August 23. While we were at Vourla, the inhabitants were occupied in preparing the figs and sultana grapes. They are picked off the stalk, laid on a hard bed, and covered with a sort of potash. The figs that are half dried in the sun are delicious.

August 24. Admiral Rosamel arrived in the Trident.

Despatches were received this morning from the vice-consul at Smyrna, with an account of the good reception of the Russians at Adrianople, and of the wish of the Porte to make peace.

August 26. His majesty's ship Isis sailed for

Milo, and the Infernal bomb for Smyrna. The moment they began to prepare for sailing, an Austrian man-of-war schooner appeared in sight. The conduct of the Austrian navy here was extraordinary and amusing. Neither the officers nor men associated with those of any other nations; but no sooner did a vessel attempt to weigh, than "in dropped" an imperial Paul Pry, just to see what was going on. Count Heyden complained to our admiral of a vessel with British colours having stretched across the bay of Napoli, when he was there, to ascertain the number of Russian vessels at anchor in the bay. The logs of our ships will prove that we were not the guilty persons; and it is not unfair to think that we are indebted to our friends the "Imperials," as they are called, for the imputation.

August 27. Sailed from Tenedos, and took the outside passage of Mitylene; so we did not see the town, which I understand is not at all in ruins. The island, after Scio, is the finest in the Archipelago. Writers are fond of attributing every beauty to the Archipelago islands: they do not deserve this character. Almost every island

is barren and rocky, without wood, and formed like a gunner's quoin. The town is generally about two miles from the sea, on the hill side: the houses are flat roofed, and appear to lie one above the other. A few gardens, with orange trees, and some miserable attempts to raise corn, are the only signs of cultivation. In a small, sheltered bay, at the foot of the hill, is the port, from which may be seen some misticoes, sac-colevos, and other picturesque and piratical-looking vessels. The case is different with Mitylene. It is well wooded and cultivated, and the interior full of clean and pretty-looking villages. The opposite coast of Asia Minor, which we frequently saw in our cruises off the island, is very fine and bold.

August 29. We anchored on the 29th within sight of the fortresses, at the mouth of the Dardanelles. We passed close to the island of Tenedos, and had a good view of the town. It is a small, mean-looking place; but appears to advantage when compared with other capitals of the Archipelago islands, being somewhat less dilapidated than its neighbours. It was, at this time, in possession of the Turks,

and was commanded by a pasha of three tails. It was garrisoned by Turks; and the population, almost entirely Greek, comprised about five thousand souls. The soldiers and inhabitants were on friendly terms. The Russian blockade was maintained by four sail of the line and one frigate; but Turkish boats were allowed to pass and repass unmolested: indeed, the Turks were the persons who supplied the blockading squadron with fresh provisions. The Russians were at their quarters when we anchored, and were all ready for, and in full expectation of, an engagement.

The navigation here is very dangerous, and is what Virgil calls it, "*statio malefida carinis.*"* There are abundance of sunken rocks; and the currents are so strong; that if there be not sufficient wind to stem them, a ship may strike, without the possibility of extricating herself. The Ocean, 74, ran aground on Rabbit Island, in the month of June, but sustained no damage. The Russian admiral saw the impending danger, but did not give the friendly warning, content-

* Æn. lib. ii. ver. 23.

ing himself with observing afterwards to some of our officers, that he was sure she would meet with the accident that happened to her.

August 31. This morning we were joined by the Asia, Spartiate, and Wellesley. The admiral was saluted by the Pasha of Tenedos with 21 guns, as he passed the fort and anchored off Alexander Troas.

September 1. Went on shore with the admiral on the plains of Troy, and afterwards dined with his excellency on board the flagship. The dinner was given to the admiral and the captains of the other ships of the blockading squadron. The admiral, Monsieur Ricord, spoke very good English, having served six years in our navy, under Captain Parker: thus, of the three senior officers in the Russian squadron, the first, Count Heyden, is a Dutchman, and the two others have been indebted to us for their education. The squadron in the Black Sea is commanded by an Englishman, Admiral (lately made Count) Greig; and there are no fewer than seven other natives of Great Britain who are Russian admirals on active service, namely, Admiral Greig, son of the

commander-in-chief, and (I believe) second in command to him; Admirals Cobley and Baillie, in the Black Sea; and Admirals Hamilton, Crown, Brown, and Chandler, in the Baltic. Admiral Mercer, another Englishman, died lately at Sevastopol.

In other departments there are, Sir James Wylie, head of the medical military establishment; Sir William Chieghton, physician to the emperor; Dr. Leighton, physician-in-chief to the navy; General Wilson, director of Colpena iron-works and Alexanderosky manufactory; General Forde, chief of the arsenals; and Mr. Venning, superintendent of prisons. To these must be added Captain Sherwood, who discovered the intended mutiny and revolt of 1825, and saved the lives of the present imperial family.

September 2. I was to have dined this afternoon with Admiral Ricord, to meet Sir Pulteney Malcolm; but I had occasion to change my plan. His Netherland majesty's brig Echo was under sailing orders for Constantinople, to receive on board the Dutch ambassador. Our admiral was so obliging as to ask the captain

to give me a passage up the Dardanelles. The request was immediately complied with. I, therefore, made my excuses to Admiral Ricord, and took leave of Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who charged me with despatches for our ambassador.

It was with much regret that I bade farewell to my kind, hospitable friend, Captain Martin, whose studious attention to my comforts had made me feel, that in quitting his ship I was leaving a comfortable home.

I was welcomed on board the Echo by the captain and officers with so much cordiality, that I at once felt myself perfectly at ease in their society. I was an Englishman, a sure passport to the hospitality of a Dutch man-of-war; for nothing could be more complete than the harmony and good understanding which subsisted between the Dutch and English, whether afloat or ashore. The officers of the two navies vied in little services to each other, and the crews were always on the most friendly terms. The Netherland ambassador at Constantinople is generally understood to have been highly serviceable in negotiations

during the absence of the British authorities; and the English are also under similar obligations to Monsieur Van Lennep, the Dutch consul-general at Smyrna.

We got under-weigh at two o'clock; and taking advantage of a southerly wind, managed to pass the forts at the entrance of the Dardanelles a little before sunset, when, as the breeze became so light that we could not stem the current, we cast anchor.

September 3. We sailed again the following morning. The wind was scant, and our progress slow: to make amends, we enjoyed a fine view of the scenery on both sides of the gulf. We saw the promontory, with the tomb of Ajax, and the bay, on the shores of which, it is supposed by many, that the Grecian ships were hauled up during the siege of Troy. Further off was Cape Sigæum and the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus. In the background, the fine chain of Mount Ida; and to the north, the mountains of Lemnos and Samothrace.

We were hailed this morning by a boat, in which sat an old man with a long grey beard, who wore on his head one of those huge, unwieldy

black caps, called calpacs, that distinguish the rayah or non-Mahometan subject of Turkey. This man proved to be a Jew, and a dragoman to the Dutch consul in the Dardanelles. A rope was thrown out to him, which knocked his calpac into the water, and caused him to let go the rope, to regain it. The breeze was rather fresh at the moment, and we soon left him a long way astern; but he kept hallooing so lustily to be taken on board, that we lay to for him for nearly half an hour, which, in the sequel, proved a detention of several days to the brig.

We arrived, in the evening, off the inner castles of the Dardanelles, and were boarded by the Dutch and English consuls, and by a Turkish custom-house officer. Our guns had been previously dismounted, and the ports shut, as the Turks allow no vessel to pass the forts without complying with this formula.

The sun was just setting as we came abreast of the town. By the Turkish regulations, no ship is allowed to pass the forts between sunset and sunrise, so we were obliged to anchor. If it had not been for the Jewish dragoman, we

should have been able to have continued our voyage, and to have availed ourselves of a strong southerly wind, which sprung up in the course of the night.

Strong as the Dardanelles are, where in every direction the eye rests upon guns bearing on a short and very narrow passage, the most dangerous part is the approach to these inner castles, which are situated on, or near, the supposed site of Sestos and Abydos. The strength consists in the position of the castle of Sestos, or European side, which mounts fifty guns; and to which, from the nature of the current, and from the banks running far out, a ship must come stem on, and inevitably be raked, without the power of returning more than her bow guns, until just abreast, by which time she would be dreadfully cut up, if the fire were at all well directed.

The batteries are, for the most part, well built, and placed in spots judiciously chosen; but, from their being of stone, the splinters must be very destructive. The greater number of the guns, and all the very large ones, are *à fleur d'eau*. These last have no carriages,

and cannot be pointed; but when a ship covers them, they fire. After the first discharge, the difficulty of reloading them must be very great; and there is no parapet or breastwork to cover the gunners.

From Cape Greco to Sestos and Abydos, there are altogether 689 guns and 8 mortars, as follow:—

In Europe.	Guns.	Mortars.
Cape Greco	15	0
Castle of Europe	70	4
A battery	12	0
Another near the Dardanelles	30	0
Dardanelles	64	0
Battery beyond	35 (40-pounders)	0
Castle of Sestos	50	0

In Asia.	Guns.	Mortars.
Castle of Asia	80	4
Battery	25	0
Dardanelles	120	0
Battery	30	0
Battery	44	0
Castle of Abydos	84	0

In passing some of these batteries, we saw several of those immense guns from which

they discharge stone shot. The quantity of powder with which these large guns are charged is enormous; the largest requires 330 pounds.

The use of the mortars is rather too intricate for the limited knowledge of the Turks in the art of gunnery. Baron de Tott, in his Memoirs, gives some very ludicrous anecdotes of their attempts to fire shells.

September 4. We weighed and sailed at daylight, but soon underwent a further detention, by a rather curious occurrence. As we came abreast of the town, a gun was fired, which the captain considering as a signal to bring to, put the helm up: and we were soon carried by the current a considerable way astern. On landing afterwards, I heard this circumstance explained. A short time before, a Turk, of some consideration in the town, had violently assaulted a girl, on her refusing to marry him. He was condemned to the bow-string, and the gun we heard was the signal of the sentence being at that moment carried into effect.

CHAPTER IV.

Disembark in Asia Minor — Turkish Purveyor-General — John Leach — Commencement of the Land Journey — Turkhana — Bourgaz — Lampsaca — A Drunken Turk — Harbour-master — Virtue of a Booyoodéry.

We had scarcely regained the way we had lost, when the wind chopped suddenly round from the northward, and sent us astern below the anchorage of the preceding evening.

As the bearer of despatches, I thought it better to land here, than to wait for a change of the wind, which was now blowing strong from the northward. After breakfast I landed at the Asiatic castle of the Dardanelles, called by the Turks Sultanieh Kelasi. Connected with it is a small town; its inhabitants are nearly all Jews, of which there are numbers on both sides of the Hellespont.

I proceeded from the boat to the British consul's, who took me with him to the person

next in rank to the pasha and his principal favourite. His office was that of purveyor-general to the troops in the Dardanelles. We found him seated at dinner, with his sons, but he made no scruple of receiving us.* I told him that I had despatches, and he immediately furnished me with a *booyoodéry*. The booyoodéry was an order on all postmasters or other persons concerned, for horses or boats, according as I might require them. The common Turkish passport is called a *teshkery*, which allows the bearer to pass unmolested, but confers no other advantage. The booyoodéry has more extended privileges, and somewhat resembles a *firman*, except that the former is granted by a pasha, and the latter bears the imperial cipher.

I engaged four horses; one for myself, another for my servant, and a third for the *surijee* (a man who acts as a guide, and returns with the horses), the fourth carried my baggage.

* The last I heard of this man was at Smyrna, in Jan. 1830. The wealth he had accumulated had attracted the attention of the grand signior, and his head was in the greatest jeopardy in consequence.

In Anatolia, or the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles, the hire of a post-horse was (prior to the Russian war), thirty paras an hour, (three miles), but it has now risen to one piastre, in consequence of the war. The piastre may be considered at three-pence halfpenny, — the stages are from eight to ten hours long. The *buckshees*, or present to the surijee, is from two to five piastres, according to the time and distance of the journey.

The person who accompanied me, in the threefold capacity of servant, Tartar, and interpreter, resides in the Dardanelles: he is by birth a Scotchman, and his name is John Leach; his look and appearance were not in his favour, and were curiously contrasted with the picturesque costume of the Turks. Some greasy hair hung down pale, thin cheeks, one of which was protruded by a quid of tobacco. He wore a rusty straw hat; jacket, waistcoat, and cotton trousers, neither the finest, newest, nor cleanest; dirty, worn-out boots; and, to complete the appearance of my valet, he had lost his right hand.

Twelve years ago, John was the mate of a

merchant vessel, trading in these seas. On some occasion it was necessary to fire a gun: while in the act of ramming down the charge, the captain, who was drunk, set fire to the priming, and shattered the poor fellow's hand so terribly, that amputation became necessary. The operation was performed by a Greek doctor, who stanched the wound by dipping the stump into boiling pitch. John says, that this part of the operation gave him no pain, it being merely like the immersion of the limb in warm water.

If any future traveller should be in want of a guide, and be more particular about his merits than his looks, he is strongly advised to employ John Leach. I found him extremely honest, intelligent, and zealous; capable of enduring any fatigue, always anxious to surmount obstacles whenever they presented themselves, and not to be deterred from continuing our journey by the fear of those dangers with which we were occasionally threatened. He is, moreover, fully conversant with the Turkish and Greek languages; is well known to the authorities on the Constantinople and Adrian-

ople roads; and has a competent knowledge of the customs of the country.

We mounted our horses at one in the afternoon: the journey from the castle to Lampsaca is called twelve hours, equal to thirty-six miles. There is a good carriage road the whole way. The pasha's carriage is frequently to be seen here. The traveller is sure of being well supplied with water, as, very much to the credit of the Turkish government, fountains are erected throughout the empire. The country abounds with hare, partridge, woodcock, and wild turkey. Three miles from the castle of the Dardanelles is the pretty village of Kara-Gurgi. We saw here a man bruising wheat, to separate the seed from the husk: this was preparatory to making a sort of eatable, called *turkhana*. The seed, after being exposed to the sun, is boiled with milk and water; and, after a second exposure, is fit for food. John says it is a very palatable dish; but I have not tasted it. The country here was highly cultivated, sometimes well manured, producing abundance of fruit and corn. We saw extensive vineyards and stubble-fields; and

among the trees I observed the oak, pine, olive, cypress, cherry, pomegranate, cotton apple, and apple. After leaving the village, we came to a succession of plains, which were for the most part a waste; though a few patches of cultivated ground sufficiently bespoke the general capabilities of the soil. The plains were separated from each other by low hills, thickly covered with brushwood. Seven miles from Kara-Gurgi is the village of Appleduck, containing about forty houses: it is situate at the extremity of the plain. A little further on, we came to the river Bourgaz, the *Percotius* of the ancients. We passed over it on a wooden platform, supported by stone buttresses. In the winter-time, this bridge is, generally speaking, not fordable, as it is overflowed by the rush of waters from the mountains. It is then necessary to go round by the town, where there is another bridge, of similar form, but of more solid structure.

The country here was so thickly wooded as to conceal from our sight the highly picturesque town of Bourgaz, which, on emerging from the wood, suddenly presented itself on

our right hand. It is considered half way to Lampsaca, and contains about two hundred houses. It is pleasantly situated amidst extensive vineyards, on the gentle slope of the lowest of a range of hills which terminate in Mount Ida. Its white mosques and minarets are prettily contrasted with the extremely green cypress, and with the varied foliage of the other trees by which it is surrounded. At the same time that we came in sight of the town, the Hellespont, with its verdant banks and its beautiful back-ground of mountains, opened to our view.

Lampsaca, the *Lampsacus* of ancient history, is as abundant in vineyards as in the time of Xerxes. We arrived there as the rays of the setting sun were shedding on it some of those beautiful tints so peculiar to oriental scenery, which an artist's pencil would be afraid to portray, and which my pen dares not describe.

I found in a coffee-house near the sea-shore, a drunken Turk, indulging himself with a glass of wine, the produce of the same fields which had formerly supplied the table of

Themistocles. He was chanting a song, with the whole force of his lungs breathed through his nostrils. He was joined in his potations by the harbour-master, to whom I applied for a boat. The tippler wished me to stay and drink with him. The harbour-master appeared inclined to allow me no alternative, as he did not pay any attention to my civil application. In this emergency I produced my *booyoodéry*. The sight of the pasha's seal was sufficient: with his own hands, he hauled a boat alongside the pier, and jumping on board some craft that were lying at anchor, seized by the collar all the boatmen he could find, and bundled them into the boat allotted to me. Thus having represented in his own person a whole press-gang, he gave me his blessing, ordered the men to shove off, and in a very few moments I found myself in full sail across the Hellespont.

CHAPTER V.

Turkish Song — State of Turkish Feeling — Desertion from the Army — Jewish Sabbath — Population of Gallipoli — A Hint to Travellers — Chersonesus of Thrace — Dellis — Adrianople Army — Cavac — Our Night's Lodging — A Turkish Hero — An Armenian Rogue — Mortality in Gallipoli — Embark in a Caique — Pivates.

THE distance from Lampsaca to Gallipoli is about five miles; a strong current and a light wind prevented us from arriving till near ten o'clock. Our boatmen whiled away the time in singing. Amongst other songs, was one relating to the pasha, who had superintended the massacre of the Greeks at Scio. Each verse detailed some cruelty practised on the infidels, and the whole party took up the chorus of "good, very good." When the last lines, which described the execution of the pasha himself, were sung, the singers raised the chorus of "good, very good," to a discordant scream.

Our crew talked with much bitterness against the government, and seemed elated at the advance of the Russians, which they looked forward to as their relief from the heavy taxes incidental to the war.

They told us, that large bodies of those troops, who had comprised the army at Adrianople, were daily pouring into Gallipoli, that numbers had escaped, and that they themselves had assisted in conveying over several hundreds to the Asiatic side; but that others, less fortunate, had been taken by the Turkish authorities, and had been forwarded to Constantinople and put to death. Our informants added, that the road was unsafe for travellers, as it was beset with these deserters, who were committing every kind of depredation. This had been actually the case a short time before. Fifteen hundred men had deserted from the small *corps d'armée* stationed in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and had laid the whole country under contribution: several had been caught, and five of them had been impaled in the town of Scutari.

As we approached Gallipoli, we saw two

Turkish men-of-war at anchor off the town. They were stationed to intercept all stragglers from the army.

A Jew in Gallipoli is agent to the British consul in the Dardanelles. At the time of our arrival he was in the deepest affliction for the loss of his son, a very fine young man, who had died only two days before of an epidemic disorder that was carrying off numbers of the inhabitants. I thought my presence could not be acceptable at such a time; I therefore, by advice of John, went to the agent's cousin. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, and that all the family were in bed, the bolts of the doors were immediately withdrawn by the magical effect of John's voice.

The Jews of this country are all fond of good living, and we came in for the benefit of it. A good supper of fish, cheese, and wine, were speedily placed before us. Of this, John and I were obliged to partake, though certain of the indigestion which would follow so late a meal. We were waited upon by our host's wife and daughter. This last was a pretty plump damsel, with her hair divided into

several long plaits, which were entirely interwoven with gold coins; and a variety of ornaments decorated her neck and arms. After supper three beds were spread on the floor, on which our host, John, and myself, reclined.

September 5. At daylight the next morning (Saturday) I called on the British agent. It is not lawful for the Jews to dress any victuals on their sabbath. To reconcile their consciences with their hospitality, the agent's family became accessories to breaking the sabbath, leaving it to John and myself to be principals in the sin. They therefore introduced us into the kitchen, brought us fuel for fire, a jug of water, and some undressed provisions: with the assistance of my servant's one hand, I put into practice my skill in cookery (an accomplishment I learned at Westminster), and soon produced a very comfortable meal.

Gallipoli, the ancient *Callipolis*, is built on the brow of a hill. It contains a tolerably equal proportion of Jews and Turks. The population is estimated at about six thousand souls.

Notwithstanding the exertions of John, I did not leave Gallipoli till half-past ten, it having

been necessary to send for the post-horses to a considerable distance in the plains, where they were grazing.

Here it is strongly recommended to the traveller in Turkey, whose object is expedition, to avoid passing the night in a large town, as delays of some kind are sure to impede his progress, and the advantages he would derive in point of comfort and accommodation are very questionable; whereas, if he would go one stage before night, he might devote all the period of his stay to repose, and be sure of finding the horses ready whenever he wished to resume his journey. The same rule is applicable to Persia, and to every other country in Asia through which I have travelled.

The first part of the road lay through that narrow tongue of land between the Dardanelles and the Gulf of Saros, which formerly comprised the Chersonesus of Thrace. The country, for several miles, formed a succession of plains of burnt-up grass, on which, however, we saw numerous herds of cattle grazing. We passed, on our road, a large body of mounted *dellis* (or madmen). Their high caps and sin-

gular costume, made them a very picturesque group.

A few miles from Gallipoli, we fell in with a party of those regular Turkish troops who had formed a portion of the army sent to defend Adrianople. We continued to meet other small bodies throughout this and the following day. Some were with, and some without, arms; they came in numbers from three to twenty. We also saw some irregular cavalry; but from none of them did we suffer the slightest molestation. The march passed without an adventure; once indeed we thought we had encountered one.

On quitting the plains, we entered a large ravine, very thickly wooded, and well adapted for ambuscade. In the middle of this place, some one from behind a bush called out in Turkish, "Stop, you Franks!" but we paid no attention to the order, and we did not see, nor did we afterwards hear, any thing of him from whom the voice proceeded.

We changed horses at Cavac, where we were detained two hours. In the interval we received visits from the principal inhabitants of

the village. After leaving this place, we heard that our last guide had taken us two hours out of our way, being ignorant of the road to Rodosto, though it was a regular post. We travelled till midnight, over stony hills, so thickly covered with wood that in many places our horses could scarcely pass. We then arrived at a village of about sixty houses; and being unable from fatigue to proceed further, we knocked at the door of a house, but received no answer. We forced our way in; and crawling upon our hands and knees, we had the good fortune to find, not only an unoccupied room, but one well furnished with mats and cushions. My surijee unceremoniously made a fire of some timber he found in an outhouse, and in a few minutes we were fast asleep.

September 6. We resumed our journey an hour and a half before daylight. As we were going away, we observed that the door opposite the room we occupied, was then open, though it had been closed when we arrived. From this we argued, that our unknown landlord had taken us for an advanced party of Cossacks.

To this mistake probably we owed the undisturbed possession of our night's quarters.

After a ride of severe suffering from cold and drowsiness, we arrived at Ainadjick, where we breakfasted. We continued to meet parties of troops. Near Rodosto, we saw a young soldier mounted on a handsome charger, the reins of which were held by an old Turk with a venerable white beard. They were father and son: the younger man was known to John. His family were rich, and lived near the Asiatic castle of the Dardanelles. John asked him where he had been: he replied, "Military ardour inspired me with a wish to join my brave comrades in arms; but God's providence put fear into my heart, and so I returned!"

At mid-day, we reached the seaport town of Rodosto. We went to the house of an Armenian, who either was, or assumed to be, agent to the British consul. I told him that I had a letter from our admiral for the ambassador, and wished to proceed to Constantinople with all despatch. He tried to persuade me that the journey by land was unsafe, and recommended me to go in a four-oared boat, which he would procure for

me. On inquiry, I found that the boatmen were all his countrymen. The sum he demanded for the hire was so exorbitant, that I had no difficulty in divining his motives for advising the sea trip; and knowing from woful experience the roguery of his class of countrymen, declined his agency, and did what I ought to have done in the first instance,—I begged the pasha to assist me. He immediately sent an armed cavass, to order the boatmen to be ready to start immediately: the price stipulated was one half of that proposed by the Armenian. The order to go was easier given than obeyed: they were all drunk in the wine-houses. As the wind was contrary, and there was a heavy swell against us, I agreed to defer my departure, and to let them enjoy themselves till the evening.

I met here a young Ionian merchant, with goods for the Adrianople market. The agent had tried to lay him also under contribution; but by an application to the pasha, he, as well as myself, became exempted from this fellow's extortion.

At eight in the evening, the swell being

considerably abated, I entered my boat. It was one of the larger kind of caiques. The length was about twenty-eight feet, the breadth four feet in midships, terminating fore and aft in a graceful curve. The interior was fancifully ornamented with gilding and carved oak. There were four rowers, each man handling a pair of light oars, the palls of which were formed like clubs. This sort of craft keeps near the shore, and sails very close to the wind: our boatmen continued to row nearly all night. It is the characteristic of this climate, that though the days are oppressively hot, the nights are exceedingly cold. John and myself became painfully sensible of this, as a blue cloak between us was all the protection which we had from the chill of the night air.

September 7. The next morning, at eight o'clock, we found ourselves off Selyvri. As it was a Turkish town, our boatmen, who were Christians, did not stop, but went six miles further, to the Greek village of Pivates, Πιθάτες, or Badho, as it is called in the maps. Here we remained five hours. I was lodged in the house

of Apostoli Leontari, one of the wealthiest Greeks of the town. His wife and children welcomed me by kissing my hand.

Tired out with want of rest, I threw myself on an ottoman, and slept soundly for two hours. I was awoke by the apparition of one of my host's daughters, a remarkably pretty girl, who brought me water to wash, preparatory to my meal. She would have formed a beautiful subject for a picture, as she presented herself to my waking eyes. She was in a graceful kneeling posture, her body inclined slightly forward, her hair braided and reclining on her shoulders; her arms, feet, and neck bare; her robes loose and flowing, a classical zone encircling her waist, her left arm and knee supporting a basin, and her right hand grasping an ewer, resembling in shape that which is occasionally seen on ancient vases.

CHAPTER VI.

Pivates — Land at Pera — The Bosphorous — Therapia — Mosque of Sultan Achmet — Turkish Mad-house — Opium-eaters — Sultan Selim, his Attempts at Civilisation — Burying-grounds, the Lounge of Constantinople — Proofs of Depopulation — Curious Tombstones — Slave Market — The Bagnio Prison — A recent Fire in Galata — Walls of Constantinople — General Disaffection throughout Turkey — Abortive Conspiracy — Executions — Mr. Slade — Mode of exposing the Bodies of Turks — Christians — Jews — Women — Translation of a Yafta.

THERE are abundance of vines along this coast. Pivates produces 400,000 ochs* of wine, one fifth of which goes to the government.

On leaving Pivates, we passed in succession the villages of Yaloos, Shahteros, Koomberos, and Chuplejee, the Buyuk (great) and Kutchuk (little) Tchmekmedgee, and arrived at the outskirts of Constantinople at midnight. As no boat can pass the seraglio after dark, I was

* The och is 2¾ lbs.

reduced to another night's lodging in the boat; but was recompensed for the inconvenience by entering this beautiful harbour by daylight.

At seven, I landed at Pera, and was detained a few minutes to have my *booyoodéry* read. I then proceeded to the British palace. Sir Robert Gordon was at his country seat, at Therapia, so I forwarded my despatches to his excellency. I met here Captain Airey, aide-de-camp to Sir Frederic Adam, also in charge of despatches. We breakfasted with Mr. Cartwright, the consul-general, with whom we had been previously acquainted in the Ionian Islands. In the afternoon, we went in a caique to Therapia, to pay our respects to the British ambassador.

The trip occupied upwards of three hours. We glided along the hilly and beautifully wooded shores of the Bosphorus. It is adorned the whole way with Turkish villas, barracks, and palaces. Whenever we came to a valley or inequality of ground, we saw a neat village imbedded in trees, and groups of Turks smoking their pipes and sipping their favourite beverage. The kiosks of the sultan are very numerous, of

a most elegant construction, and like what are described on Chinese screens.

The tameness of animals on this arm of the sea is very curious. The porpoises played round our boat; and frequently, when, from the strength of the current, it was necessary to tow the caique, the birds (almost the only animals protected by law from the penalty of death) would hardly move out of our way till the track-rope touched their breasts.

We passed, and were met on our way by numerous caiques, full of Turks, Armenians, or Greeks, on their return to their country houses after the avocations of the day. Behind most of the villas are gardens, formed on a succession of terraces, which ascend the hill, and have a beautiful appearance. Adjoining Sir Robert Gordon's country seat, is that of the French ambassador. It was formerly the residence of the celebrated Ypsilanti, from whom it was confiscated: it has since been given to the French government.

On our return to Constantinople, Captain Airey and myself engaged apartments in the same house, and dined in the evening with Mr. Cartwright.

September 8. We devoted this morning to seeing the usual sights of the capital. I made several other visits, but, perhaps, the result of my observations had better be inserted altogether than given piece-meal. I saw the hippodrome, the mosque of Sultan Achmet, to which the grand signior goes in great state during the beiram. Opposite the hippodrome is a menagerie, containing a few wild beasts. Near it is a mad-house, under the superintendence of a moolah. The building is a court-yard, surrounded by arcades, which open upon several cells. The reputed regard of the Turk for the insane is not exemplified here. No attempt appears to be made to restore the unfortunate inmates to reason: the cells are dirty and comfortless, and the poor wretches are chained by the neck to the walls.

Opposite the mosque of Sulimanieh is a line of coffee-houses, the usual resort of the opium-eaters. It is now forbidden to indulge in that drug; and, in consequence, many of the coffee-houses have been ruined. Such, however, is the fondness of the Turk for it, that in defiance of the prohibition, many, both young

and old, may be seen enjoying that state of utter abstraction which opium produces. They are easily recognisable by their sallow, unhealthy looks and vacant stare.

At the end of these coffee-houses is a mad-house, an appropriate appendage to such a neighbourhood, and the invariable retreat of those whose intellects have been destroyed by the use of the baneful drug. It would seem placed there as if to warn them of their probable fate.

Landing at the seraglio point, you may see several monuments of Sultan Selim's fruitless attempts to civilise Turkey. From the landing-place is a broad street, crossed by others equally wide, and built in imitation of those in European towns. At the end of the street is a large printing-house. It has completely fallen into disuse since the Revolution, which expelled that really enlightened monarch from the throne. To the right is a handsome barrack, built by him for the new troops which he had attempted to raise. A little farther is a mosque, into which any one is at liberty to walk: hence you can proceed to the burying-

ground, which forms the fashionable promenade of loungers, whether Christians or Turks.

It might almost be said, that the burying-grounds of the capital are as extensive as the town itself. What with fire, the plague, the bow-string, and the sword, the Turks have, since their establishment in Europe, but more especially of late years, required room to bury their dead. Formerly a dense population, they have now left the country almost a wilderness. Even at this spot, so highly favoured by climate, fertility, and commercial wealth, it is quite appalling to observe how few inhabitants have been spared. During a ride of some miles, you may pass through streets where dogs are almost the only inhabitants. In the bazaars only, which are in the neighbourhood of the port, the stir and bustle of a capital can be remarked. Large quarters of the town, which fire has from time to time destroyed, remain deserted, the receptacles for the carcases of horses and dogs, upon which crowds of vultures and of dogs themselves may be seen to prey.

The Turkish cemeteries, with their turbaned

tombstones, gilded inscriptions, and their superb forests of cypress which surround them, have often been described. In the Jews' burying-ground, the tombstones, instead of being erect, like those of the Turks, are laid flat. They are generally in the shape of a coffin, and are inscribed with Hebrew characters. On the Armenian monuments the emblems of the trade which the deceased formerly followed are engraved. Amongst the tombstones, two arrested my attention: on one is represented a man suspended from a gibbet; on the other, the body of a person, in a kneeling posture, with the head lying beside it.

In a good government, executions are intended for the prevention of crime by the force of example. With us, the disgrace is also considered to produce its effect: but what must be the wretched state of that country where unjust executions have so mixed up the innocent with the guilty, and have so done away with the shame and the example, that, instead of recording the virtues of the deceased, his family should announce to posterity, that he had died by the hand of the public executioner.

The slave bazaar is entered by a gate, across which is a chain, the emblem, I suppose, of the bondage of those within. It is a court, surrounded by a covered gallery, where the merchants and buyers, seated on their cushions, smoke and transact business. Underneath this gallery are the rooms where the black slaves are lodged, and opening into it from behind, are apartments for the Georgians, Circassians, and other female slaves. From time to time, one or two of them are produced and sold by auction. They are nearly all children, from ten to fourteen years of age. The auctioneer, a servant of the dealers, walks before, and proclaims aloud the last price offered for the young slave who follows. The blacks are generally sold in the same manner, though both are frequently disposed of by private contract; when women, whose profession it is, are sent round to examine them, and see that they are in good health and well formed. Numbers of women on this errand are to be seen going from room to room. The slaves are usually sold attired in a beautiful under dress, shewing the figure to advantage, and exposing

the face and hair to view. When bought, they are immediately put into the Turkish boots and slippers, and the large, unseemly blue cloak, called a *beniss*. They then have their heads, with the exception of the eyes and upper part of the nose, bound up in linen; and thus habited, are carried to the harem.

Within the arsenal is the bagnio prison, the horrors of which are so powerfully described in Anastasius. The prison-yard is small. A marble room, probably once forming part of the bath, has been filled up with pictures, &c. lately taken from the Russian frigate, as a place of Greek worship for the Russian prisoners who belonged to it. Here they remained until the peace. They occupied this dismal abode with the common offenders, who were all chained. The Russians looked miserable enough; but hardly deserve pity, for their cowardly conduct in not fighting their ship. Leading from the yard to the passage, is a kind of bazaar for provisions and whatever luxuries the prisoners are allowed to enjoy. It is difficult to decide upon the degree of suffering of a Turkish captive. Free or con-

fined, he has the same immovable gravity, the same eternal pipe. Perhaps, from his sedentary habits, the Turk feels the privation of liberty less than a native of a country accustomed to more active pursuits.

The Russian prisoners were at liberty to work or not, as they pleased: those who chose to do so, could earn a fair profit.

In the course of our walk, we passed over the spot where the late fire had taken place. It was described to me by Lord Dunlo, with whom I afterwards travelled through European Turkey. The houses being chiefly of wood, dried by the constant play upon them of a powerful sun, the fire soon extended itself, and fanned by a breeze from the north, easily traversed the narrow streets, and was not arrested till it had consumed nearly eight thousand houses, and several inhabitants. The sight, particularly when it became dark, must have been magnificent. The unfortunate sufferers from the conflagration fled to the neighbouring burying-grounds with whatever property they could collect. It speaks very highly for Turkish honesty, that not a single attempt at pillage

was made, though, in the confusion of the night, it might easily have been accomplished.

Near one of the places where a fire had taken place, is the base of a very handsome pillar, like that of Trajan at Rome. The destructive element had calcined the very rich marble of which it was formed, and but little of its sculpture remained visible; the materials being found of use, stone after stone had been taken away by the Turks, till the base alone remained.

A ride round the walls of Constantinople is delightful. They are very curious, and remarkably strong. There are six grand entrances, of which, however, little remains except the general plan of the roads leading to them. They afford superb specimens of antiquity; the ivy grows over them in the most luxuriant manner imaginable. You are shewn the spot where the last Greek emperor fell, and where the town was stormed. Not far from this place are the tombs of the famous rebel Ali Pasha of Ianina, and of his sons, who were all beheaded a few years ago.

Our peregrination of the day was per-

formed without our encountering the slightest molestation. Since the destruction of the janizaries, no Turk, except in government employ, is allowed to wear arms; and a Frank can go all over Constantinople, not only without danger, but without insult.

Crossing one of the streets, we observed the ground smeared with blood. It was the spot where a man had been lately executed: he was one of some thousands who had been put to death a few days before my arrival.

As soon as the advance of the Russians had become generally known, the disaffected spirit which had almost lain dormant since the destruction of the janizaries, broke out, not only in European Turkey, but throughout the African and Asiatic dominions of the sultan; and the news of revolt and discontent in the remote provinces, were received at a time when succours from those very parts were most required. In the beginning of August, several attempts had been made to set fire to Constantinople; and the sultan's best troops, who had been previously destined to reinforce the army, opposed in the field against the Rus-

sians, were employed in preserving peace in the capital. Desertions from the regular army were numerous; and, as I mentioned before, fifteen hundred men abandoned their colours from the *corps d'armée*, encamped at Buyuk-dere, and about to be called out on active service. These deserters, together with several irregular troops, committed so many excesses, that the neighbourhood of Constantinople became quite insecure, and travellers could not proceed without an escort. On the 12th of August, the sanjak sherif, or sacred standard, was taken to Ramas Chiflik, the principal Turkish barrack. Thither also the sultan went, and made it his future residence. A very few days afterwards, a disturbance took place in the barracks, in which thirty lives were lost.

Later in the same month, a regular conspiracy was discovered; the objects of which were, to overturn the sultan's government, to re-establish the order of janizaries, to burn the capital, and to retire into Asia Minor. The ramifications of this plot were very extensive. Most of the Asiatics, with the army at Shumla, were implicated. It was discovered by the

conspirators having consulted the astrologers to name a propitious day for the accomplishment of their design. Some day late in August was fixed upon for the purpose. In the meanwhile the astrologers were arrested, and on being put to the torture, confessed the whole.

I was told by Mustapha, a kavass in the British service, that the next Friday, after the sultan had become acquainted with the conspiracy, he went, with more than usual pomp, to the mosque, and was attended by a large band of music. Returning from prayers, persons implicated in the conspiracy were seized, made to kneel down, and executed on the spot.

The first executions took place on board the fleet, the capitan pasha putting to death several of his own personal attendants. Soon after, the Nasir of Buyukdere was executed, and his head placed on one of the gates of the seraglio.

Subsequently, the sultan devolved the office of crushing the rebellion upon the seraskier pasha, or commander-in-chief of the army; a man of about seventy-six years of age, and a

great favourite with his sublime highness. This man adopted the expedient which had been acted upon by his imperial master a few years before—that of extermination. From four to five persons a-day were beheaded and exposed in the streets; and from fifty to a hundred were every night strangled, and their bodies thrown into the Bosphorus, at the seven towers. From three to four thousand persons were put to death.

The bodies exposed in the street were seen by the English travellers who were in Constantinople at the time. Lord Dunlo told me, that amongst the corpses, he stumbled upon that of a coffee-house keeper, whose house he had once been in. It was suspected of being the rendezvous of the disaffected: it had been razed to the ground, and its owner beheaded.

On another occasion, he came to the spot where a fine athletic young man had been put to death a few minutes before. The head, which had been very awkwardly severed, was placed, according to custom, under the arm. Near the body was the unhappy widow of

the deceased, the only person who dared to shew any sympathy in his fate. Other persons either passed on, or stopped for a moment to read the *yafta*, or sentence of his death.

Mr. Slade, a lieutenant in the navy, was accidentally present at an execution, which took place on the 5th of September, two days before I came to Constantinople. He was entering from the fish-market, which terminates with the custom-house, and about to turn in that direction, when he remarked a crowd of persons all looking towards the opposite end of the street. He now perceived a guard of about twenty men advancing towards him. Curious to know what it might mean, he remained where he was, at the crossing of the two streets. When the guard had arrived there, it halted, and the officer made signs to the crowd to fall back, upon which two men advanced from the guard — the executioner and the victim, the latter having his hands tied behind him, the former armed with a *yatagan*. So firm and undaunted was the demeanour of the condemned man, that had not his hands been tied, there was nothing to indicate his

unhappy character. With the same unshaken determination he presently knelt down, and submitted his head and neck to be prepared by the executioner for the blow, by removing his turban and cap, and feeling the back of the neck for a good place to strike. When this was done, and the executioner had read over the *yafta,* under which he was condemned, he made a short prayer to Mahomet in a loud and firm tone of voice; and turning to the executioner, he said he was ready; upon which, with a single blow of the *yatagan,* the head was severed from the body: it rolled two or three feet, while the trunk, instantly lifeless and prostrate, emitted two copious streams of blood. In the meantime the mob and guard disappeared; the executioner quietly wiped his *yatagan* on the clothes of the deceased, sheathed it, laid the body on its back, the head under the arm, and the *yafta* on the breast.

Several Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, were executed at this period. Their bodies are disposed of differently from the Mahometans. They are laid upon their bellies, and, instead

of the heads being placed under the arms, they are put between the legs.

Some women were also put to death; but as the Turk never loses sight of the decorum due to the sex, even after death, their bodies were placed in a horse-hair sack, and in this manner exposed, for the sake of example.

I have mentioned the *yafta*, or sentence of death. The following is a translation of one that was taken from the breast of a man executed the 6th of September, and may serve as a specimen of Turkish criminal jurisprudence.

It will be observed, that the unfortunate sufferer was put to death because another man addressed seditious language to him.

"Achmet, kiaya (chief) of the corporation of merchants dealing in articles of luxury at Constantinople.

"This wretch obtained, some time ago, through the munificence of his highness, the office of kiaya of this corporation.

"Instead of shewing gratitude for the manifold benefits he had received; instead of thanking God in the five prayers; instead of praying night and day with his family for his highness

and for the Mussulman nation, in remembrance of the favours by which he had hitherto been loaded; instead of attending to his own business; instead of abstaining from criticising business which did not concern him; instead of living quietly, and being more than any other of the like employment attached to government, as his duty and sense of obligation should have compelled him; this man, not only omitted making any of these reflections, but made use of seditious language, saying that the seraskier pasha, or seraskier capissi, had been torn in pieces; that this and that thing had been done. It is in this manner that he had the audacity to cause to be circulated false intelligence, conduct tending to spread alarm amongst Mahometan people.

"The fact being alleged, and Achmet being interrogated on the subject, could not deny it. He only maintained that *it was not he who had said it*, but Abdi, a cavass of the imperial divan, living in the quarter called Feirouz-Aga. Abdi was summoned to appear, who being confronted with Achmet, he also has been unable to deny it.

" The boldness of their infamous conduct, and of the language they have held on things which did not concern them, proves that these men are ungrateful wretches, traitors who ought to be made to disappear; and it is thus deemed necessary to execute upon them the penal laws, so that good order may be maintained. In consequence, the traitor, Abdi Cavass, has been executed in another place, and the robber, Achmet, has undergone the punishment here, so that he might seem as an example."

CHAPTER VII.

Remarks on the late Executions—Anticipated Results from the Destruction of the Janizaries—Observations on the Turkish Empire — The Sultan — Origin of the Power of the Ulemas — They combine with the Janizaries — Result of this Union to the Empire.

THIS chapter will contain a few remarks suggested by the events recorded in the last few pages.

It would be thought that the destruction of the janizaries, in 1826, would have been a sufficient warning to the Turks not to recur to those measures which had so recently cost the lives of sixty thousand of their countrymen.

That dreadful, but perhaps expedient massacre, was, in the opinion of many, to produce the greatest benefits to the country. It was argued that this licentious militia had been the sole bar to the improvements meditated by the sultan, and that its abolition would be a death-blow to the prejudice and bigotry that had so

long paralysed the efforts of the Ottoman government.

That this has not been the result, the circumstances which led to the late executions sufficiently shew, and it forms one of the series of examples which will appear in this narrative, to prove that the "snake" of fanaticism is "scotched, not killed."

We will not here examine, how far the sovereign has directed his attention to the amelioration of his empire; that subject shall be considered, when there shall be sufficient examples adduced, to form a judgment on his claims to the high and enlightened character which he has hitherto held. Let us at present confine ourselves to a search for some of the obstacles to the expected improvements, which we shall find in the laws and institutions of the Turkish empire.

The grand signior is considered by the Turks as the legitimate successor of Mahomet and the lawful caliphs. Like them, he is endowed with the spiritual and temporal authority. But the caliphs were of the race of Mahomet, and succeeded to sovereign power in quality of first

imauns, or chief priest, an office they claimed as hereditary descendants of their prophet; whereas the Ottoman monarchs being of Tartar origin, owed their office of chief in church and state to the success of their arms.

This defect in their hereditary pretensions occasioned the necessity of making some modifications in the religious authority of the Ottoman caliphs, and is the source of the importance and prerogatives of the *ulemas*, or priesthood, in whom are vested the functions of both law and religion.

The first monarchs of the race of Ottoman, who took possession of this empire at a time when the caliphate was divided among several candidates, all assuming to be the legitimate successor of Mahomet, took the title of Caliph, in order to enjoy uncontrolled sovereignty in their dominions.

But these warlike monarchs, disdaining to fill the functions of the priesthood, which belonged to them as chief imauns, delegated it to the corps of *ulemas*. To the *mufty* they assigned the interpretation of the laws; to the *moolahs* and *cadis* the administration of justice;

and to the *sheikhs* and *imauns* the ordinary ceremonies of worship.

In process of time, the people considered the ulemas as the only persons who had a right to exercise the functions of law and religion; consequently, the monarch, who should have been the only legal oracle, found himself obliged to consult the mufty, and bound by the *fetfas*, or edicts, of this pontiff.

It is here important to enumerate a few of the privileges and advantages enjoyed by the ulemas.

The *mufty* is the lieutenant of the grand signior in the exercise of his spiritual, as the grand *vizier* is of his temporal power. These two great officers are equal in rank, and walk in the same line. The mufty is the oracle of the law; all the principal offices are subject to his nomination.

The ulemas pay no taxes, and are exempt from public imposts; they cannot be punished with death, and are not exposed to the arbitrary law of confiscation, — a great privilege in a country where death and confiscation are the usual means of strengthening the power

and filling the coffers of the sultan. The greatest privilege is that of a real aristocracy, in insuring to some families the hereditary possession of the principal places of the magistracy, and in obliging the sultan to select the mufty from the classes ordained by the regulations of their corps.

As long as the sovereigns led their armies in person to the field, and returned home crowned with victory, the ulemas were humble and obedient; but when the sovereigns delegated the command of their armies to viziers and pashas, and experienced reverses of fortune, the ulemas exercised all that power they had acquired over a fanatical and bigotted people, and caused their influence severely to be felt.

Nevertheless, the ulemas, foreseeing that that power must be precarious which depended upon the caprices of the mob, engaged the janizaries in their interest.

This body was the first military corps in the state. They formed the sultan's guard; they received from the imperial treasury, besides food, pay, which, moderate at first, increased

with service; at an advanced age they obtained either a pension, or a military command. They formed the garrison of towns during peace, and the keys could only be confided to an officer of their corps. On the ascent of a sovereign to the throne, they demanded, like the prætorian bands, *largesse* from the imperial treasury, which they received, until the poverty of the country precluded the power of acceding to this claim.

The janizaries, as well as the ulemas, owed their existence and privileges to the sovereign. They had gained, by their important services, the esteem of the people; they likewise conceived a profound contempt for the degenerate monarchs who preferred the pleasures of the harem to the glory of the camp.

The janizaries were flattered at the advances made to them by the ulemas, and were delighted to have a sanction for their seditious acts by the venerable dictum of the law. Both parties became strengthened by the union; both proved detrimental to the power of the sovereign and to the happiness of the people.

The resistance of the priests and soldiers against the legitimate head of the church and the army, being the result of revolt and usurpation, instead of mitigating the despotism of the sovereign, and being of benefit to the liberty and to the general prosperity of the people, is almost the sole cause of the weakness of the empire, and the barbarism of the Turks. For these two bodies, who should have been the instruments of the monarch, in becoming his rivals, left the government without power, and the country without protection.

The ulemas have always done every thing in their power to oppose the introduction of knowledge and the study of science, which must inevitably bring into contempt the Koran, its numerous and obscure commentaries, the immense collection of contradictory edicts of the muftys, and the whole system of their theological knowledge.

The janizaries, who had abandoned their ancient habits of discipline, pretended that the same invincible sabre which had conquered so many kingdoms was sufficient for their defence, and rejected with horror the severe

discipline of the Franks and their new system of tactics.

Thus, the janizaries and ulemas, in preventing Turkey from putting herself on a level with other European powers, and adopting their useful discoveries, augmented her weakness, her misery, and dependence, in the same proportion as the neighbouring states raised themselves by their riches, their knowledge, and their rapid progress in every branch of industry.

The baleful effects of the co-operation of these two bodies may be traced in almost every page of the Turkish history, since the first ten sovereigns of the empire.

The influence of the ulemas was unseen, because it acted insidiously upon the minds of this fanatical people; but the power of the janizaries manifested itself in open acts of violence and insubordination. Against the last, therefore, the attention of the monarchs was principally directed; and various attempts were made to abolish them, and to establish in their stead a military force on an European model. The sultans always

failed in their endeavours, and frequently lost their lives in the struggle. Their want of success only tended still further to increase the influence of this vicious band. The last effectual attempts at resistance against the sovereign authority were in 1807 and 1808. The results of their opposition in those two eventful years were, that two sultans were deposed and strangled, five grand viziers decapitated or poisoned, several subordinate ministers torn in pieces by the infuriated mob, and some thousands of the poorer classes put to death.

The janizaries enjoyed the fruits of their rebellion for eighteen years, when, in 1826, Mahmoud, the present sultan, resorted to the desperate measure which led to the total abolition of this licentious corps. At the period of its overthrow, the greater part of the Turkish population was connected with either the priesthood or the soldiery; consequently, by this act, the privileges of almost all Mahometan subjects were invaded, and every thing that affected their interests, that gratified their pride, and that favoured their religious preju-

dices, were, at "one fell swoop," completely destroyed.

The abolition of the janizaries was followed up by the accomplishment of that project which had been so frequently in the contemplation of former sovereigns, — the establishment of a force upon the principles of a Frank army.

It was hardly to be expected that the Mahometan, who found himself thus forcibly deprived of all those proud marks which distinguished him as one of the "faithful," should voluntarily enrol himself in a corps professedly formed on a model which he abhorred, because it humiliated him, as evincing the inferiority of his own system, because it militated against his habits of idleness, and because it grossly offended his religious scruples, as being of infidel and therefore of impious origin.

Consequently, the new levies were effected by tearing young recruits from the bosoms of their families, with all the impolitic and aggravating circumstances of despotic power, when exercised by a savage and ignorant race.

In the meanwhile, the ulemas, who saw

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that the destruction of their former supporters, and that the introduction of European knowledge, would be fatal to their power, employed every art and persuasion that could render the new troops dissatisfied with the innovations. They represented to them that the sultan was an infidel, that they were absolved from obedience to one who had proved himself so unworthy to be a lieutenant of the holy prophet, and that it was contrary to the Mahometan religion to imitate the customs of the Franks. They foretold that no success could possibly attend their Giaour arms, and that the time was fast approaching when the ancient prophecy respecting Turkey would be fulfilled, — that "the sons of yellowness" mentioned in the prediction were the Russians, who were to drive them out of Europe, — a just recompense for their impiety in seceding from that military system which had been enjoined by their prophet, and which had gained them the possession of the fairest portions of three quarters of the globe.

The prediction has in part worked out its own accomplishment. War broke out with

the Russians. The newly-modelled army marched against them, imbued with the seeds of despair and disaffection. They enjoyed a partial respite from defeat in the first campaign, less attributable to their own valour than to the foolish vanity of the Russian emperor, who checked the operations of his army by his personal interference; but no sooner were the Christian troops relieved from the presence of their meddling sovereign, than they began the war in good earnest, and advanced without a check into the Ottoman dominions, until they had arrived within a few hours' march of the capital.

The knowledge of the Russians' advance was marked by revolts and discontents in the Turkish provinces of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and by the abortive conspiracy in the capital against the sovereign and his kingdom.

In a country so vilely governed as Turkey, it would be endless to enumerate all the obstacles which its own wretched administration offers to improvement; but it is submitted, from the preceding remarks, that

amongst the principal bars to improvement may be ranked the mischievous influence of the clergy, who, being the only instructed class, are enemies to the introduction of any knowledge but their own, because their political existence depends upon its suppression.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Seraskier's Tower — Hajee Mahomet — Illness — Doctor M'Carthy — Advice to Invalids in Turkey — Reside with the British Ambassador — Manner of passing Time — Sailing Match with the Capitan Bey — Visit to the Capitan Pasha — Our Interpreter — Sketch of the Capitan Pasha's Life — Policy of Nicknames in Turkey — State of the Turkish Flag-ship — A Ship-launch — State of the Docks — Four Greek Murderers hanged.

We ended our morning's ramble by a visit to the seraskier's tower, a building about two hundred and forty feet high. At the top is a circular gallery, with windows all round; whence we enjoyed a beautiful panoramic view of the city and its environs, of the sea of Marmora, and the coast of Asia. In our way home we did not omit to smoke a pipe and drink sherbet with Hajee Mahomet, perfumer and beard-dyer to his sublime highness, a gentleman whom it is as necessary for a traveller to visit as any of the other lions of the town.

I had scarcely reached my quarters, when

I was seized with a violent attack of fever, which, increasing in the night, obliged me to call in a physician, my kind friend, Doctor M'Carthy, a gentleman in high favour and repute with the sultan and the principal persons in the Turkish court. It may serve as a caution to others who may be in the same predicament that I was, on no account to touch medicine of any kind, without the express directions of a medical adviser. I had in the first instance taken calomel, which had greatly increased the fever and the difficulty of cure. A surgeon in the navy, who was unwell at the same time, hoped also to conquer his disease by calomel; but in his case the treatment was nearly attended with fatal consequences.

Medicine is rarely resorted to by the doctors in Turkey in common cases of the fever of the country. Whatever notions professional men may have formed of its efficacy before their arrival, experience always induces them to alter their opinion: phlebotomy is the almost universal substitute, and the whole body of physicians are enthusiastic advocates for the Sangrado system.

I heard afterwards that I put my doctor rather in a fright. He thought my appearance was very much like that of one afflicted with the plague. Impressed with this opinion, he asked me if I had a sore on the leg,—the usual appearance of this dreadful disorder. I had been suffering from boils, which the heat of travelling had very much inflamed, so I answered, "Yes!" For a moment his worst suspicions were confirmed, and he involuntarily shrunk back, until by inspection he was undeceived.

I had not been long ill, when Capt. Airey's duties obliged him to leave Constantinople for the Ionian Islands. I felt severely the loss of his society, and was determined to avail myself, as soon as possible, of Sir Robert Gordon's kind invitation to take up my residence at Therapia. It was, therefore, a high gratification to me when I was able to step into a caique, to quit my melancholy lodgings and the oppressive heat of Constantinople, for agreeable quarters in the ambassador's house, and the fine bracing air of the Bosphorus.

I found at Therapia, Lord Yarmouth, Lord Dunlo (afterwards my fellow-traveller), my old

friend and school-fellow, the Hon. Robert Grosvenor, Lieutenant-Colonel Vernon, Mr. Edward Villiers, Mr. Parish, and Mr. Mellish. There were, besides, Captain Lyons, and the officers of his majesty's ship Blonde, which lay at anchor a short distance from the shore.

With such companions, the time could not pass otherwise than agreeably. In the mornings we used to wander amongst the evergreen and vine-clad hills which overlook Therapia; in the afternoon we enjoyed sailing excursions on the Bosphorus.

September 21. Sailing in the frigate's launch, cutter rigged, in passing under the stern of the Turkish flag-ship, we were recognised by the capitan bey (captain of the fleet), a fine, handsome-looking man, with a large black beard; he was dressed in a tight scarlet uniform, with superb diamond stars and crescents on each breast, the insignia of his rank of admiral. He no sooner saw us than he jumped into his own barge, which was rigged with two latine sails, and taking the helm himself, sailed against us. I

fear I must add, he was the winner. The match appeared to excite much interest in the Turkish ships, the poops of which were lined with spectators, as each boat passed under their sterns. The capitan bey is nearly the best sailor in the Turkish service, and is one of the survivors of Navarin.

September 22. Mr. Grosvenor, Mr. Villiers, and myself, went with Captain Lyons, in his barge, to pay our respects to the capitan pasha on board the flag-ship.

The Turkish fleet was anchored in the gulf of Buyukdere. It consisted of five ships of the line, three frigates, three corvettes, and a number of smaller vessels. Decorated with their red flags, they appeared to much advantage: their masts were well put up, and their yards squared. It was only on board that their inferiority to our own ships could be perceived.

The capitan pasha is above fifty years of age, strong and well built, with a fine, manly, open countenance. His manners are easy and unaffected, and marked with that air of dignity which appears to sit so naturally upon every

Turk, whatever may be his rank in life. He was simply dressed in a chocolate-coloured cloak, and wore the *fez*, or red cap, common to persons of every description in government employ.

We partook of coffee, pipes, and sweetmeats, this last article of food being always reserved by Turkish dignitaries for those visiters whom they wish particularly to distinguish.

Our interpreter for the occasion was the pilot of the Blonde, a Greek by birth, and a sailor by profession: from early association, therefore, the capitan pasha was, to his eyes, the most formidable man in existence. That he so considered him was evinced by the low and agitated tone in which he spoke, by his imperfect interpretation of our remarks, and by the perspiration which stood in thick drops on his brow.

The capitan pasha was born in Galata, and was originally a *paepooshjee*, or slipper-maker, in his native town, of which he became governor, and was subsequently appointed to the high office which he now enjoys. His whole nautical knowledge was picked up in a

voyage which he made to Zante in the capacity of a menial servant to some rich Turk. His name is Achmet, to which is added that of "*Paepooshjee*," in honourable commemoration of his former employment.

The custom of giving nicknames is consonant with the policy of the Turkish empire.

It was usual to confer the highest dignities of the state upon the Itch-oghlans, or pages, brought up in the seraglio, and actually the slaves of the grand signior. Thus the title of slave became rather an honour than a disgrace, and every one in the service of the government was so classed. The right of the master over his slaves, applying in this case to the sovereign over the public functionaries, prevented any one family from rising above the multitude, and laid the basis of a perfect equality amongst all classes of Ottomans, which it is so much the interest of the Turkish despots to maintain. Upon these principles, the Turks, unlike the Persians and Arabs, who are proud of their genealogy, have no distinguishing or hereditary name; but, as with the capitan pasha, derive an appellation,

either from some trade or from some moral quality, and not unfrequently from some physical defect. Hence also may be satisfactorily explained that dignified manner which characterises a Turk selected from the meanest avocations to fill the highest offices of the state: thus, Achmet, "the slipper-maker," may consider himself equal in origin to the grand vizier and the seraskier pasha, both of whom were renegado slaves.

We went over the ship after our visit. It was clean and in good order. The guns, to the number of one hundred and thirty, were ready for immediate service: upon the lower deck were four guns, two on each side, for carrying stone shot of an immense size. There were no hammocks for the men, who lie about the decks as they please.

The crew were in general dirty and ill dressed: they were imperfectly disciplined, and almost entirely ignorant of any kind of seamanship. They are, however, good swordsmen, and would prove formidable as boarders; but as gunners, I understand them to be very contemptible. Independently of their want

of skill, they have other disadvantages to contend with. The manufacture of powder is a monopoly. The consequence is, that their guns cannot throw a shot more than half the distance of Russian cannon of the same calibre.

Their complement of men was fifteen hundred: an English vessel of the same rate would not require more than eight hundred and fifty. In the event of an engagement, so large a force, with so small a knowledge of their business, would be very much in each other's way. The flower of the fleet was destroyed at Navarin: the deficiency is supplied by Greeks, to whom they confide the charge of working the vessel, while they reserve to themselves the management of the guns.

Lord Dunlo was present at the launching of one of their frigates. She was launched head foremost, and in her cradle. The Turks attach much importance to omens, and were highly grieved when, after she had commenced her descent, an obstacle checked her progress, and retarded the launch. It is customary, after the business is over, to slay a sheep, and, like the priests of old, the mufty examines

the entrails, to draw from them an omen. On this occasion, the entrails were pronounced unfavourable,—another evil prognostic, in addition to the interruption of her descent. The Turks have no dry docks, and in general their ships are not coppered. From want of the steam-engine, nearly all the departments of the dock-yard are defective. In other respects, business goes on very well; there is no want of space, and what with galley-slaves and hired men, labourers are abundant. The works are superintended by some skilful French engineers.

In lounging along the shores of the Bosphorus with Captain Lyons, Mr. Grosvenor, and Mr. Villiers, we came to a village where there were four men hanging. They had been Greeks, in government employ, as journeymen bakers, in the marine storehouse. Their crime was murdering one of their companions, having first robbed him of eleven hundred piastres. We were not present at the execution, which had taken place a short time before.

Each man was suspended from a separate

gallows. The implement of execution was of the rudest description. Three posts of unequal size, as if they had been found by chance on the spot, had been placed *on*, not *in* the ground, and meeting at the top, formed a triangle like that from which weights are suspended in England. The rope by which the culprit was hanging was rove through a ring at the top of the triangle, and twisted in a slovenly manner round one of the posts. The perpendicular of the triangle was seven feet, and the criminals were hanging so low that their feet were within a few inches of the ground; so that when we approached, we found ourselves face to face with the bodies. Their appearance was different from what I had expected; the countenances were tranquil, and, except a slight protrusion of the tongue between the teeth, there was no distortion in the features. The eyes of one of the bodies were open, and we could almost imagine that they were regarding us. The countenance of this man was not bad, while that of the corpse beside him was the vilest I ever remember to have seen. Over each body a sentry was placed, who

willingly answered every question that was put to him respecting the culprits. We were told that the bodies would be exposed for two days; and then thrown into the Bosphorus. The mode in which they are hanged is, by one man pulling the rope, while another clings with his whole weight to the body until life is extinct.

CHAPTER IX.

Preparations for Departure—My Fellow-traveller, Lord Dunlo — Our joint Servant, English Mustapha—Sketch of his Adventures — Equipment for the Journey — We leave Therapia—St. Stephano—Dine with the Consul-General —Excellent Fish—Quail Shooting—Resume our Voyage — Unpleasant Disaster — A Salt-water Bath—Put into Selivri—A Turkish Coffee-house.

A WEEK of the Bosphorus air had effected such an improvement in my health, that the desire of travelling, which had left me in the depression of illness, again returned. I began to make preparations for another journey, and had the good fortune to engage Lord Dunlo as a fellow-traveller. Our plan was to proceed to Adrianople, and to be guided by circumstances for our subsequent route. Peace was not ratified at the time, every thing was in doubt and uncertainty, and there were not a few prognostics against our safe arrival; but my fellow-traveller was not a person to be easily alarmed:

for my own part, fortune had so long befriended me in my travels, that I placed implicit reliance on the continuance of her favours.

Our joint servant for the journey was a Turk, familiarly styled English Mustapha, whose name had been before the public, as Tartar to Mr. Walsh on his journey from Constantinople. My first acquaintance with him was at the court of Persia, in 1824, where he had been sent with despatches for Mr. (now Sir Henry) Willock, the British *chargé d'affaires* in Persia. His life has been full of adventures, which would be considered extraordinary in almost any country except Turkey, where the will of the sovereign renders life and property of so precarious a tenure.

Mustapha is a native of Germany: at the age of fourteen, he went on a voyage to Messina; the ship in which he embarked was seized by some pirates of Tunis; to which town he and his shipmates were taken. Here he was kept three days: he was then carried to Alexandria, and put up to public auction: the bidders examined his hands and feet; and as purchasers of a horse would look into the mouth,

so did they open his,—not to search for the mark, but to smell his breath, in order to ascertain by it, the state of his health. He was bought by a dealer, who took him to Cairo, and re-sold him to a bey for seventeen hundred piastres. He described his new master as a kind and amiable man. When the Turkish army marched to Egypt, the bey joined the grand vizier at Salish; but his riches attracting the cupidity of the prime minister, he immediately adopted the Turkish fashion of gaining possession of them;—by cutting off their owner's head, and seizing on the property. In this manner Mustapha, and nineteen other companions in misfortune, changed masters. As the vizier was a Georgian, he retained all his own countrymen, and gave away the other slaves to his friends. Mustapha was assigned to the Kiahya bey; but he had not been long with him when his appearance took the fancy of the Tartar Agassi, or chief of the Tartars, who offered to give in exchange a horse and nine hundred piastres for him. Mustapha and the charger were immediately trotted out, and in a few minutes the *swop* between horse-flesh and man-

flesh was completed. It was under this master that Mustapha was made a Mahometan, and enrolled in the corps of janizaries. At the end of nine years, his master dying, gave him his liberty. He has since been in the service of the Pashas of Diarbekir, Suez, Damascus, and Bagdad.

Mustapha served several campaigns, and was employed against the French at St. Jean d'Acre; but as love of a soldier's life is not one of his characteristics, he was very glad to obtain the situation of kavass in the British embassy, as it exempted him from military service. Even in this snug post he was not free from adventures: on the departure of the French and English ambassadors from Constantinople, several persons were put to death. Mustapha, and five or six others, were taken up and brought before the governor of Pera, in full expectation of the like fate. The place where the executions had taken place was a bullock's shed. One of the executioners who was standing by the door, said to Mustapha as he passed, "the shed was full just now, but I think we can accommodate you with a

stall." This ill-timed pleasantry did not much allay the agitation of him to whom it was addressed; but his good destiny prevailed,—he was set at liberty: his companions, however, were taken into the human slaughter-house which had so alarmed him, and they entered to return no more alive.

Under the direction of Mustapha, we each furnished ourselves with a pair of leather bags, made to fit the common pack-saddle of the country; we bought a Tartar saddle and a Turkish bridle, (as the postmasters only furnish horses;) and an *abba*, or Bulgarian coarse cloak, made of the wool of the black sheep. Our articles of consumption consisted in a plentiful supply of bread, cheese, coffee, sugar, grapes, figs, tobacco, and gin.

As the weather was fine, and we expected the wind from the north-east, Lord Dunlo consented to go by sea as far as Rodosto; we avoided by this, twenty-four hours of land journey, an important saving of labour to myself, who had so recently risen from a bed of sickness.

September 27. We left Therapia on the morn-

ing of the 27th, staid a short time in Constantinople, and then set out again on our voyage. Our conveyance hence was in a three-oared caique, which in three hours carried us to St. Stephano: here we remained till the following afternoon with the consul-general, in order to take a day's quail-shooting on our way.

Amongst the good things at Mr. Cartwright's table was some fish which I thought most delicious; perhaps the appetite of a convalescent, heightened by sea air, might have improved the flavour a little. It is called *lachierda*, and is caught in abundance by the fishermen of the village. Mr. Cartwright's landlord had a few nights before netted six hundred pair, each of which weighed on an average three ochs (or eight pounds English). Another villager caught nearly five times the quantity: the price of one fish is a piastre, or three-pence halfpenny.

September 28. We took the field a little before daylight, being duly provided with *teshkerries*, or game certificates, which the Mahometan march of intellect has introduced here. There were about fifty shooters in the

field; no one thought of preserving his beat, each sportsman unceremoniously passing and repassing betwixt ourselves and dogs. In short, it was a complete scramble for shots. For three hours the firing was incessant, the game abundant, and the unintermitting reports of the guns sounding like the beating of carpets.

At twelve o'clock we returned home, with a tolerably full bag of game. Mr. Cartwright gave us an early dinner, after which our caiques were brought to the shore, when he stepped into his to return to Constantinople, and we into ours to resume our journey in an opposite direction.

When night came on, Lord Dunlo and myself lay down at the bottom of the boat to sleep. Our slumber was of short duration: we were disturbed by the boatmen pulling at our feet, and awoke to a most disagreeable discovery. Our frail bark had sprung a leak, and was half full of water. I was the worse off of the two; for as the caique inclined towards the side on which I was lying, I had the unwished-for benefit of a salt-water bath.

In this dilemma, we ran into the harbour of Selivri; and while our boat repairs were going on, we took shelter in a coffee-house by the sea-side. The place was filthy in the extreme; we were cold and tired; — but what was to be done? Dirty paper, the universal substitute for glass windows in a Turkish coffee-house, admitted the cold night-air through innumerable crannies; and though there was a *mungal*, or brazier of charcoal, in the middle of the room, the fire was nearly extinguished. As for repose, it was out of the question: every inch of the benches was occupied by Turkish boatmen, who were lying regularly along, with their heads and feet touching each other, all of whom were snoring in one loud chorus. Indeed, I doubt whether, even in case of a vacant space, our fatigue was sufficient to tempt us into contact with such questionable neighbours.

CHAPTER X.

Resume our Journey — A second Accident — Eligree — Arrive at Rodosto — A Yuz-bashee — Our Evening's Repast — Mustapha's Fears — Visit the Pasha of Rodosto — Mustapha offended.

September 29. At dawn of day, our little vessel was reported ready for sea; but we had scarcely shoved off from the shore, when we had the bad fortune to spring a leak a second time. The boats in the harbour were, according to Turkish custom, anchored astern: at low water, the flues of the anchors are almost on the surface. It was against one of these that our boat struck, and occasioned this additional disaster.

After an hour's delay, we once more launched into the deep, and completed our voyage without any more adventures.

About noon, we passed the pretty village of Eligree, situate at the slope of a hill; and,

a little further on, at the extreme point of a promontory, Sokhmanli.

The north-east wind, which had been blowing strong until our departure from St. Stephano, most provokingly died away, and was succeeded by a dead calm. This was hard upon our boatmen, who were obliged to tug at the oar until our arrival in port. In fact, they had had a tolerable spell of it; for, the preceding morning, we had sent Mustapha in the caique to Constantinople for something we required: this trip gave them six hours' additional work; and, as we did not arrive at Rodosto till six in the evening, they had been labouring unremittingly for thirty-five hours.

Attached to the principal coffee-house on the beach of Rodosto is a sort of roofed summer-house, built upon piles, round which the sea flows. It is open on all sides, combining the benefit of sea-air and the commercial advantage of being in the immediate neighbourhood of the port. In this building, smokers and coffee-drinkers of all religions were indulging in their pipes and their favourite beverage, presenting to the view a

motley group of Greeks, Armenians, and Turks, in the varied costumes of their several persuasions. To this place we bent our steps, and were civilly treated by those around us, several of whom vied with each other in offering us pipes and tobacco, the two principal ceremonials of a Turkish welcome.

The person we got on best with was a *Yuz-bashee*, or "chief of a hundred," a rank corresponding with our captain. He had just arrived from Shumla, and had been present at the successful sortie of the Turks against the Russians. He was, therefore, in high good humour with himself, of which we came in for a share. A slight acquaintance with Turkish enabled me to be a good listener to his account of the action, and to put in their proper place occasional interjections of "good" and "wonderful." This praise, though not bestowed with any parasitical object, answered as well as if it had been; for the young warrior was so pleased at the attention bestowed on his recital, that he opened a pocket handkerchief, none of the cleanest, in which were his provisions, and laid the contents before us.

They comprised some excellent bouilli beef (for in this the Turk surpasses the French); a *boorek*, a very greasy description of slim cake, enclosing some savoury minced meat; and some roasted quinces. Nothing could come more opportunely: we had had no dinner, and, from the lateness of the hour, money could not procure any; so we accepted his kind hospitality, and to it we went, Mustapha and all, "tooth and nail," in the most literal acceptation of the words.

Our repast over, we offered our entertainer, in return for his good cheer, a glass of our gin, which, after a proper degree of flirtation, he accepted; its resemblance to water, in appearance, coming powerfully in aid to remove his modest scruples.

It was the wish of Lord Dunlo and myself to have commenced our land journey the same evening, in order to avoid the delays attendant on leaving a large town in the early part of the day; but there was an insuperable objection to this, for Mustapha had pre-determined that we should not start till the following morning; and in this instance, as in many others afterwards,

we found how useless it would be to offer any opposition to his will. The fact was, the old gentleman let slip an avowal that he had a great dread of the irregular troops of both belligerent powers, but more particularly the Cossacks, whose character, as thieves and robbers, is as well known in Turkey as it is in any other country they have favoured with their visits. We ridiculed Mustapha's fears at the time; but subsequent experience made us think his objections by no means ill founded.

In these early days of the journey, our Turkish fellow-traveller treated us with a degree of respect which subsequent intimacy made him completely throw off. On the present occasion, he did by sap that which he afterwards effected by storm. Pretending to acquiesce in our wishes, he sent a kavass to the pasha, who had evidently received secret instructions from him not to demand horses for us till the next day.

Anxious to expedite our departure the following morning, we went to the Pasha of Rodosto to beg his assistance, and took Mustapha

with us as interpreter. We visited the great man at nine in the evening. The audience-chamber was dirty and unadorned, and imperfectly lighted by two long tallow candles, which stood in the middle of the room.

Ibrahim (the pasha) is a fine, intelligent-looking man, about fifty years of age. He conversed with considerable acuteness on various subjects, spoke very much in praise of the operations of the Russian troops, and mentioned Count Diebitsch (with whom he said he was acquainted) as an excellent officer; making a salvo to his conscience for praising an officer in the service of Russia, by adding, "But then, you know, their commander-in-chief, as well as all their best generals, are Germans, not Russians." The pasha next complimented the English as the stanchest friends to his nation, to which we made due acknowledgment. We then introduced the subject of being supplied with post-horses as early as possible in the morning; and he made us a promise that every thing should be according to our wishes; which promise, by the way, he did not perform. Hearing the readiness

with which Mustapha spoke English, he said to him, "How come you to speak the Giaours' (infidels') language so well?" "I am in their service," was the reply. "How long have you been so?" Here Mustapha mentioned the number of years. "What is your religion?" was the next query. "I am a Mussulman." "Nonsense!" rejoined the pasha; "you are an infidel, and no true believer: it is impossible to remain long with these fellows without being contaminated by the intercourse." This conversation was, of course, held in the full confidence that it would neither be understood by us at the time, nor afterwards explained. So we quitted the pasha with the same cordial expressions as we entered; as for Mustapha, he retired in high dudgeon, and from that day forward we could never get him to act as our interpreter again.

There was at this time in the town a garrison of six thousand men, including cavalry: the consequence was, that the coffee-house benches were all occupied, and we had only one of two alternatives, — to go to the house of the Armenian-British agent, against whom

I had lodged a complaint, or to return to our boat. We chose the latter, and were obliged to sleep another night under the canopy of heaven.

CHAPTER XI.

Detention — Public Treasure — Deserted State of the Town — The Inhabitants employed on the Ramparts — Desolation observable in the Country — Scenery — Irregular Cavalry — Yagee — Ben-Ali — Hirepoli — Turks disarmed — Wretched Horses — Remarks on the Turkish Seat and Saddle — The "Dirty Village" — Our Lodgings for the Night.

September 30. At five in the morning we quitted our damp beds, proceeded straight to the post-house, and asked for horses. Of these there were plenty; but we had to remain two hours before we could procure a guide.

We had been waiting some little time, when a long string of horses, escorted by Tartars and two hundred dellis, entered the post-yard, bearing treasure of gold and silver to Salonica. The treasure was carried in small camel-hair bags, and secured to the pack-saddles by cords.

The strength of the escort was a proof of the still unsettled state of the country. On ordinary occasions one Tartar is considered

sufficient to protect treasure from one extremity of the Turkish dominions to the other.

That we might not be altogether idle, we breakfasted in the gateway, surrounded by gaping Tartars; and having hastily discussed this meal, we went into the town to make a few purchases. Here we were not a *little* surprised at finding every shop closed, with the exception of a tobacconist's and a few sellers of the necessaries of life. The streets were also quite deserted. We returned to the post-house, and inquired the cause. The answer to the question accounted also for our detention, namely, that the whole male population had been ordered to work at the fortifications; and not only were all shopkeepers, of every religion, included in this order, but the surijees of the public post were likewise so employed. As a proof of this, the grand signior's treasure was obliged to wait as well as ourselves.

In the course of two hours the requisite number of surijees for the treasure and ourselves were brought from the ramparts. Our party required five horses; one each for

Lord Dunlo and myself, one for Mustapha, another for the surijee, and a fifth for the baggage.

At the outskirts of the town we saw several parties of Greeks headed by their priests, and of Turks by their imauns. They were equipped with pickaxes and long wooden spades, and were proceeding towards the works.

The environs presented the same scene of desolation as the town itself. Most of the fields, which at this time required culture, were entirely deserted; and in others there were only women at work: a sure criterion of distress in this country, as it is against every feeling of the Turk to allow his wife to be so employed.

The neighbourhood of Rodosto is, for the first few miles, rich in cultivation, — large orchards and vineyards being beautifully intermixed with fields of cotton, Indian corn, and melons; but this appearance soon changes. The soil, though as rich as at Rodosto, is totally uncultivated, except in the vicinity of the few villages which lie thinly scattered over the plain; these partial spots of fertility

seeming to be placed, as it were, to shew what the rest of the country is, and what it is capable of being.

Parallel with the road, and about two miles distant, is a beautiful bank, covered with dwarf oak, small trees, and abundance of shrubs: this we scarcely lost sight of till we arrived at Oozan Kupri.

We met, from time to time, small parties of irregular Turkish cavalry, whose loose robes, embossed arms, and large turbans, formed, in appearance at least, an advantageous contrast with the tight jacket, the inferior European weapons, and the ungraceful skull-cap, of the regular troops.

At an hour's ride (about three miles) we saw the small village of Yagee on our left hand. At an hour and a half, we passed through Osmanli; at three hours, through Ben-Ali; at eight hours, we crossed a branch of the river Erkeneh, by a stone bridge of seven arches, with smaller ones intervening, and arrived at the small dirty post-town of Hirepoli, where we stopped to change horses.

This place is twenty-five miles from

Rodosto: here we fell in with the first Russian out-posts—a sergeant's party of cavalry. We saw in this town several persons with their faces mutilated, and one of them appeared to have had his nose only recently cut off.

I now began to discover that I had over-rated my strength in leaving Therapia so soon, and that I should have acted more prudently if I had delayed my journey another week. Reflection, however, came too late; I was in a high fever from fatigue; but I made the best of it. I lay down for an hour, made a bad attempt at sleep, a still worse at dinner, and then resumed the march.

Hence onwards, all the Turks had been disarmed by the Russians; but they had no other annoyance to complain of, as they were paid for every thing, and had no soldiers quartered upon them.

We recommenced our journey at five o'clock, and continued marching for six hours; and a miserable time we had of it. We were wretchedly mounted, our unfortunate cattle being so galled in the back, that they always contrived to throw the saddle on one side,

which obliged us to halt every ten minutes to re-adjust them; and as the poor beasts soon managed to shift them as before, it was with the greatest difficulty that we could keep our seats; indeed, the effort to do so, very much increased the fatigue of riding in Tartar saddles, at no time easy seats to unpractised limbs.

The peculiarity of the Turkish seat is, that the stirrup is so short, and the shovel stirrup-iron placed so far back, that the calf of the rider's leg almost presses the lower part of his thigh. This, to an English rider, is extremely irksome, and may, at first, appear to him both ridiculous and unsafe; but, on reflection, it will be found the best adapted to a nation accustomed from infancy to sit upon their hams.

In the new system of cavalry drill, the Turkish recruit is taught not only the European system of evolutions, but is made to conform to our position on horseback. From my own observations on the wonderful address with which the Mahometan rider used to manage his horse; and from having also remarked the awkwardness of the cavalry soldier of the new

school; I should say, that, as far as his horsemanship is concerned, he has certainly changed for the worse.

Two hours from Hirepoli, nearly on the road to the right hand, is the village of Tekeh. In the centre of it is a tekeh, or convent of dervishes, who have the care of a cold spring, celebrated for its salutary effects upon persons afflicted with fever. Numbers resort hither in the spring. The dervishes put a string round the neck of the bather, and repeat a short prayer: as they receive a remuneration for this, they of course impress on the patients the inefficacy of the waters without the preliminary fee.

By eleven at night we reached the Bulgarian village of Chokcheh Kien, or "dirty village," as much so in fact as it was in name. We knocked at the door of a cottage, and, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, were immediately admitted.

Our apartment could boast four walls, and two shelving roofs: these said roofs inclined downwards to the centre of the room, but not meeting, protected us almost as little

from the piercing night air, as if we had remained outside. A raised mud floor, under one of the roofs, was allotted to us; and the kind peasants did their best to make us comfortable; but their attentions could not dispel the numerous enemies to rest. We made several attempts at sleep, but in vain. We were nearly starved with cold, and devoured by bugs and fleas. The early village cock did salutation to the morn at least three hours before its appearance; and to the shrill notes of chanticleer were added the chorus of two poor squalling children, fellow-lodgers and fellow-sufferers with ourselves.

CHAPTER XII.

Oozan Kupri — Russian advanced Guard — General Cheremetoff — Demotika — Water-mills — The River Maritza dammed; an impolitic Abuse — A Population on a March — Mortality amongst them — Mustapha's Self-will — Cross the Ferry — Arrive at Adrianople, and reside with the British Consul.

October 1. With so few attractions in our night's quarters, we had no great difficulty in being up and ready to start before daylight. At sunrise we re-mounted our jaded beasts, and urged them on to Oozan Kupri, which we reached at half-past seven — the distance being nine miles.

The intervening country was much improved in appearance, being more thickly peopled, and better cultivated, than that through which we had hitherto travelled.

At Oozan Kupri we found the advanced guard of the Russian army, consisting of fifteen hundred cavalry, under the command of General

Cheremetoff. On arriving at the post-house, we sent our passports to him; and in a few moments he came himself to pay us a visit. He told us that his instructions were, to allow every one to pass unmolested; and unless men came in large parties, not to demand their passports. He spoke of some Turks in the neighbourhood having cut off the noses and ears of some Greeks and Armenians. This may account for the mutilated faces we saw at Hirepoli.

The general pressed us very much to stay breakfast, promising to give us some tea, of which he said he knew we English were very fond. As we were anxious to reach Adrianople before sunset, we declined his hospitality; and the moment fresh horses were ready, we prosecuted our journey, escorted by his orderly-man, whom he sent to pass us through the camp. The men and horses appeared to be in good fighting order. They were encamped on the banks of the river Erkeneh, on a large plain, which in the winter is overflowed. The road then leads over the Oozan Kupri, or "long bridge," from which the town takes its

name. This bridge has three hundred and sixty-six arches, ten of which are over the ordinary course of the Erkeneh. We crossed the river at the ford near the bridge, but this is only passable in the summer months: the river, at the period of our crossing, was a quarter of a mile wide.

Leaving Oozan Kupri, we entered at once a large forest of dwarf trees, whence we emerged to enter upon a beautiful and well-cultivated country. At eight miles from the bridge we halted at a small hamlet, on the brow of a hill overhanging the river Maritza. From this place we could see Demotika, a large town prettily situated on an eminence.

Demotika, famous as having been the residence of Charles XII. of Sweden, after his affair at Bender, is a Turkish state prison. There are apartments regularly allotted to the grand vizier, and all the principal officers of the Porte. Here, in the time of the janizaries, their chief was usually strangled.

After a dram of raki, we again pushed forward, and continued along the banks of the Maritza, through a rich but ill-cultivated

country, forming, as far as Adrianople, one large plain, interrupted only by occasional eminences.

At intervals we observed the stream of the river dammed up, for the purpose of turning several mills then at work. These mills, of which there are numbers along the Maritza, the whole way from Adrianople to Enos, are worked by Greeks. They are built of wood, and are movable at pleasure: their foundation is in the form of a boat; and on the periodical increase of the stream, they are either taken ashore, or left in the creeks. These dams, which are generally formed by large stakes, are very injurious to the navigation, as vessels sailing up with a strong wind, are frequently upset by them: but this is one of the impolitic abuses winked at by the Turkish government; as the granting permission to intercept the stream produces a certain revenue to the Pasha of Adrianople.

From a small eminence, fifteen miles distant, we first saw the beautiful city of Adrianople. It is situate on the slope of a hill, and appeared, from the spot whence we viewed it, to

terminate the plain through which the Maritza flows.

A little further on, we fell in with a thousand covered waggons: some were drawn by two, and others by four bullocks. Each of them contained a family. We were told that their occupants were peasants, who had fled from Pravadi, a town eight hours distant from Varna, on the approach of the Russians. They were now returning back, on an assurance of being allowed to remain unmolested. The features of this people had all the characteristics of Calmuc Tartars, — small eyes, bridgeless noses, thick lips, and projecting foreheads. We heard, however, that they were Bulgarians; but they had not the least resemblance to this people. I am disposed to think they were settlers from the Crimea, many of whom emigrated when their country was first taken by the Russians. Being fishermen, they desired to be placed on the banks of a river. The grand signior granted them some land on the Maritza (and I rather think on the Danube also), and endowed them with considerable privileges.

These poor people were very sickly; numbers had died, and were dying by fever, on the way; and we saw, on both sides of the road, graves, some of them open, and others recently closed. So numerous were these humble repositories of the dead, that they might be almost said to mark the direction of the road.

We had yet three hours' journey to perform, and Adrianople was in front of us, when Mustapha turned out of the direct road, and led the way across the river. We had no alternative but to follow him: we had scarcely got half across, when we were over the saddle-flaps. This changed Mustapha's course, for a moment, but not his determination. He made a second attempt to cross the river, and succeeded, at the expense to us of a good wetting to our baggage-bags and their contents.

Being already well nigh worn out with fatigue and intense heat, we had no inclination to make a circuitous route, and expostulated rather sharply with Mustapha, who we found was making direct for Kara Gatch, a village in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, in

which Mr. Duveluz, the British consul, had a small country-seat.

Mustapha knew, some how or other, that we had a letter of introduction to Mr. Duveluz; and being feelingly alive to the superior fare of a consular establishment over the public khans, had settled in his own mind, that we should quarter ourselves upon the consul without invitation, not at all entering into our scruples of forcing ourselves upon his hospitality.

As Mustapha was determined to go to the country-seat, and we were equally resolved not to do so, we split the difference, by allowing him to proceed to Kara Gatch, while we loitered near the banks of the river till his return.

His errand proved fruitless. The consul was at his town house, and our scruples at taking him by storm being removed by this intelligence, we made direct for the consulate.

We re-crossed the Maritza in a punt, without dismounting. There are several of these vessels continually plying here. They are

capable of conveying two carriages abreast, and occupy about three minutes in the passage. Our boat was managed by one man; but two persons, with punt-stakes, are more usually employed, one in the fore, and the other in the after part of the vessel.

Not far from the ferry a wooden bridge formerly stood, but it was carried away two or three years ago by the breaking up of the ice. Though this is a most important thoroughfare, being on the road to Enos, the Turkish government, for the paltry profit of the ferry, which goes into the pasha's coffers, has been deaf to the numerous representations on the subject, which the inconvenience and danger of the ferry have produced, and no steps have been taken for rebuilding the bridge.

On crossing the river, we found a Russian guard at the entrance of the town. They did not stop us, though they pointed significantly to my sword, orders having been given that all persons should be disarmed, and not foreseeing, perhaps, that (as in my own case) there might be some upon whom they had no right to execute this order.

We reached the British consulate at sunset, and presented our letter to Mr. Duveluz, who would not listen to our proposal of seeking a lodging in the town, but insisted on our remaining with him during our stay.

CHAPTER XIII.

Story of Marigo — Her Companions in Misfortune — The Massacre of Scio brought on by the Greeks themselves — Account of it from one of the Sufferers — Visit Count Diebitsch — The late Campaign — General Reuchtern — London Porter — The Old Seraglio — Count Diebitsch receives the Order of St. George of Russia — Bulgarian Dirt — Whimsical Mistake — Dirty State of the Bulgarian Quarters — View from a Ruined Kiosk — Last new Female Fashions in Turkey — Dragoman and his Wife — Fate of the Lady's Father.

THE consul's house is nearly the best in the town. The fate of its preceding occupants is an example of the uncertainty of life in this country. It was successively the property of two brothers. One fell a victim to the plague, when that heavy scourge last visited Adrianople; the other, who succeeded him in his property, was decapitated shortly after, before his own door.

Among the servants of the consul is a beautiful Greek of the name of Marigo, who comes

nearer to my idea of a Hebe than almost any other woman I ever saw. Moreover, she is not only very pretty, but very good. Her adventures are a picture of the country and times in which she lives. I relate them as I heard them, partly from Mr. Duveluz and partly from her own mouth.

She was born at Scio; her father, a man in comfortable circumstances, was remarked for his facetious character, even in that island, the former abode of wit and mirth. At the insurrection of Scio, he was one of the first who fell in that terrible massacre. His unhappy widow, with four children, of whom Marigo was the youngest, fled into the mountains, with a little dry bread and a pitcher of water, and hid themselves in the cavity of one of the highest rocks in the island. They remained unmolested for two days, though they were kept in dreadful alarm by the constant report of fire-arms, the savage yells of the Turks, and the despairing screams of their victims. Their supply of water exhausted, the mother resolved in the dead of night to refill the pitcher; but the courageous little Marigo

seized it from her mother's hands, said she would fetch the water, that she was the lightest and smallest of them all, and had the best chance of escaping unseen by the Turks.

At midnight she set out on her good and bold enterprise, crept down the rock, and arrived at a spring, without any further inconvenience than cutting her feet with the sharp stones. As she was returning, she heard voices in the Turkish language near: she threw herself into a field of standing corn. She had been heard, and was pursued. The Turks hunted for her with their yatagans. At last one of their party slightly wounded her. It was an old white-bearded negro, who hurried her away towards the town. They stopped at a house, and were admitted by another negro, who proved to be the son of her captor. The younger black immediately conceived a violent affection for the pretty captive: a quarrel between the men was the consequence; and it ended in the father seizing a pistol and discharging the contents into his son's body. The wretched old man became frantic at what he had done, and mingled his yells of grief with his son's

dying groans. The wounded man soon expired: the old father then opened the window, took up the corpse, and flung it into the street. He now became more furious than ever. At length he seized Marigo by her hair, dragged her into the street, and offered her for sale. Haji Baba, a nefarious slave-dealer of Adrianople, bought her for a handful of paras (a few pence), and took her to his depôt, where she found a number of companions in misfortune, who, together with herself, were put into a large boat, and landed at Gallipoli, whence she was brought to Adrianople. Here she had the happiness to fall into the hands of my excellent friend Mr. Duveluz, who redeemed her. Ever since he has treated her like a daughter, and she repays his goodness with a daughter's love.'

Several of Marigo's companions in misfortune were sold in the Dardanelles to Turks, though Haji Baba had assured them that he intended to take them to Adrianople, and to dispose of them only to Christians. The greater portion, however, were brought to Adrianople. On his arrival, Haji Baba waited upon the consul, as the Christian subjects of the Porte

did not dare to deal with him; and he himself was under the same apprehensions of treating openly with him for his slaves. The consul requested to see them. He was conducted to the place where they were confined. He describes it as the most heart-rending scene he ever beheld. They were the true picture of misery. Pale, emaciated, sickly, dirty, and in rags, they all flocked round him, and, with the most ardent prayers, begged he would redeem them. The voice of misery never pleaded in vain to my kind-hearted friend. He purchased the redemption of the six youngest, four of them (amongst whom was the pretty Marigo) he sent to Mrs. Duveluz, and consigned the care of the two others to his shoemaker, a married man, and an Ionian. In a very few days, through the assistance of the Greek archbishop of Adrianople, together with what he himself could spare, he obtained the liberty of all the poor creatures. Some were comfortably placed in Christian families; and several of the young girls Mr. Duveluz had the satisfaction of marrying well in the town, and of restoring others to their relations who

had escaped to different parts of Greece. Mr. and Mrs. Duveluz brought Marigo's mother from Smyrna in 1828. Her two sons, although the consul offered nine thousand piastres for their ransom, to a Turk at Cassaba, near Smyrna, he could never prevail upon him to sell them; and the Mahometan has since induced them to conform to his religion. Marigo's sister has never been heard of.

It is not fair to throw the whole odium of the massacre at Scio on the Turks, inasmuch as it was brought on the Greeks entirely by themselves. The following remarks are from Sir Pulteney Malcolm's dragoman, one of the sufferers who was sent into slavery to Smyrna, and purchased by Captain Hamilton, of the Cambrian, for one or two dollars.

At the time of the insurrection in Samos, the Greeks and Turks in Scio were living on the most friendly terms, and it was the general wish of the inhabitants to continue so; the Turks consequently refused to take any part in the struggle, and communicated their resolution to the constituted authorities. Greek deputies from Samos arrived, and constantly

succeeded in raising disturbances, in which some Turks were killed, and hostilities then began, which ended in a general massacre. The Greeks were the aggressors, and took advantage of the state of security in which the few Turks in the island were living. The interference of the Turks with the Sciotes, previous to their insurrection, was confined to a small garrison in the castle, and a tribute paid in mastic to the seraglio. The prosperous state of the island is a proof how little they were molested. The Sciotes had few, if any, sailors amongst them; their ships, which were numerous, were manned by Ipsariotes. On the breaking out of the troubles, the ships were withdrawn to Ipsara. At the massacre, numbers who escaped from the town fled to the other side of the island, opposite Ipsara, from which it is separated by a very narrow channel. The deplorable situation of Scio was perfectly well known; and these unhappy fugitives, by their cries and motions, endeavoured to persuade the Ipsariotes to come over and carry them away; not a boat shoved off, and, in sight of their own vessels, the unfortu-

nate Sciotes were either massacred by the Turks, or obliged to throw themselves off the rocks into the sea; numbers, especially the women, preferred the latter alternative. By this treachery the Ipsariotes kept possession of the ships, whose owners were no longer in existence, and to obtain which, they stained their name with a crime of which history hardly affords a parallel. The day of retribution soon arrived, and Ipsara is now almost a desert island,—a few straggling houses are the only remains of a once flourishing town, and an occasional pirate-boat, the only vessel seen coming out of a port once the most frequented and busy of the Levant.

October 2. At two in the afternoon, we went with the consul, in his carriage, to the Russian camp. We first paid a visit to Count Diebitsch, but were not admitted; he had been up all night, writing despatches, and was now taking a siesta, having dined at twelve, his usual hour.

The commander-in-chief occupied the house of the bostangee basheè, or chief gardener, an officer of high rank in the Turkish court. His residence formed a part of the ancient seraglio

of the sultans, when they had their seat of government at Adrianople. I did not see the dining-room of the field-marshal, but it was described to me as very handsome. It is curiously gilded: there is a handsome marble fountain in the middle, where the Christian general cools his wine, an appropriation that the pious disciples and successors of Mahomet perhaps never expected when they built it. There are, besides, a large mirror, and other paltry articles, the present of the Doge of Venice, when in the height of his power, to the Grand Turk, which said very little either for the good taste or splendour of the giver, or for the great importance of the receiver to whom such trash was sent.

Round the house were encamped, in a kind of park which encircles the seraglio, about eight or nine thousand men. The whole number, however, at head-quarters is very uncertain and variable, as troops arriving are constantly sent off in different directions, according as reports of danger arrive. At this time they were in daily expectation of being attacked by the Pasha of Scutari.

We afterwards visited General Reuchtern. We found him seated before his tent. This officer, who is a native of Germany, commanded the cavalry stationed at head-quarters. He is an exceedingly agreeable and well-bred man; and we continued on terms of great intimacy with him during the stay. We talked of the late campaign. He attributed the whole merit to Count Diebitsch. He represented the passage of the Balcan to have been effected, in a very short time, with the aid of the sappers and miners, who made a passage that enabled the army to make a circuit, and to take the enemy in flank, and at the same time to force an entrance into Roumelia, and to cut off the grand vizier's communication with Constantinople.

The general gave us some very good London porter. The last time I tasted this beverage in Russian company, was in a house on the shores of the Caspian Sea: I little thought my next would be in a Russian camp, within four days' march of the Turkish capital.

From the cavalry encampment we went to the old seraglio, now almost in ruins. It is

enclosed by a high wall, like that at Constantinople, and covers nearly as much ground. It is approached by a spacious court, on either side of which is a handsome building, one story high, with a spacious arcade in front. The edifice on the right was occupied by the Russian plenipotentiaries, Counts Pahlen and Orloff; that on the left seemed as if intended for state occasions, containing, besides other openings into it, a room splendidly adorned with carved and gilded wood: in the middle, was the sultan's throne. Opposite to the entrance gate is the principal building of the seraglio. It is entered by a long double flight of steps, leading into a handsome and spacious hall. On either side are large and corresponding apartments. Above is a high square tower, which is ascended by a narrow stone staircase: here are four square apartments, one over the other; one is without a doorway, and can only be entered from the top: its appearance would lead one to believe that it formerly served as a prison. On the summit of the tower is a kind of lantern-shaped gallery, whence may be enjoyed a magnificent panoramic view of the town and

environs: the seraglio, especially, is seen to great advantage from this place, and appears like a small town; but from age, fire, earthquakes, and neglect, it is now completely in ruins, with the exception of the buildings I have particularised: even of these, the masonry had been considerably damaged by a late earthquake, and the wood-work was so rotten, that the rafters bent with us as we walked over them.

The varied groups which we met with, on our return to the town, were highly entertaining,—Cossacks, Tartars, Uhlans; Dellis; Turkish and Servian troops; Russian grenadiers and Turkish regulars; Greek, Armenian, Catholic, Russian, and Protestant priests; passed us at every turn, and produced an odd jumble of ideas, from a rapid review of the events which had brought together natives from so many different parts of the globe.

October 3. We received a polite message this morning from General Reuchtern, who sent an aide-de-camp to inquire after Lord Dunlo's and my health.

October 4. There was to have been a

review this morning, but it was postponed in consequence of the Russian order of St. George having arrived for Count Diebitsch, who assembled all the general officers to assist at the investment. The courier who brought it, made the journey from St. Petersburgh in the wonderfully short space of eight days and a half—an answer at once to the alleged difficulties of the Balcan road, of which more hereafter.

October 5. Two English messengers arrived to-day, one going to Constantinople, the other to England. The courier from England states, that he left the Pasha of Scutari at Philopopoli, with a fine-looking army of forty thousand Albanians.

October 6. This morning we were introduced to several visitors; amongst others, to a very pretty Ragusan lady, who had married a native of Adrianople. In the afternoon, a Russian officer paid a visit to the consul. According to the eastern custom, sweetmeats, with a number of spoons, were handed round on a silver tray. When the dish came to the Russian, he found the first mouthful so palatable, that he helped himself a second time, using the

same spoon, and returning it to the dish as bright as ever by the precautionary process of licking it clean with his tongue; an act which raised an expression of disgust on the usually good-humoured countenance of the pretty Marigo.

We heard this morning of a whimsical mistake of identity which occurred a few days before, and is the common talk of the town.

An officer in Uhlan's corps of cavalry, well known to the consul, was walking along the streets, when a Bulgarian woman rushed out of her house, and ran towards him, exclaiming, "My dear boy! what! now that you are in a fine dress, are you ashamed of your poor mother?" Soon after an older woman claimed him for her grandson, and the younger branches of the family hailed him as a brother. He managed to make his escape for the time, but in passing shortly after through the streets, he was upbraided for his unnatural conduct in disowning his relations. Thus assailed, he applied to Count Diebitsch for protection. An inquiry was established through the medium of the Bulgarian archbishop. The parties

were confronted; the supposed mother called out, "If it be my son, he has a scar on the left side of his forehead." The officer's cap was removed, and, strange to say, the scar on the identical spot appeared. The woman triumphantly exclaimed, "he had that scar when he was eight years old." Here several Russian officers interposed, and said that the officer had left St. Petersburgh without the scar, and had received it in an affair with the enemy before Shumla. Thus ended this comedy of errors.

After the departure of our visitors, Mr. and Mrs. Duveluz, Lord Dunlo, and myself, took an airing in the carriage, and went out by the Belgrade road. Here we passed over a long bridge or causeway, built by the Emperor Michel, whose name it still retains. Immediately without the town is a large but poor suburb, chiefly inhabited by Greeks and Bulgarians. Amidst the most squalid poverty which pervaded the inhabitants, we recognised remarkable beauty of person. So dirty was this part of the town, that the mud in one of the streets was over the felloes of the carriage-wheels.

We went to the summit of a hill on which had formerly stood a kiosk belonging to Sultan Selim, the last remains of which had been carried away for the building of the barracks, now serving as the hospital to the Russian troops. From the site of this edifice, we had another fine view of the town. To our left we saw the Russian camp scattered over the large plain, partly hid from view by the fine timber which surrounds the seraglio, and under which the cavalry of the Russian army find a salutary shelter from the burning rays of a Turkish sun. Amid the trees is seen the former residence of the sovereigns of Turkey, and now marking the head-quarters of the invading army. A plain to our right was pointed out as the spot occupied by Charles the Twelfth of Sweden; and further on is a beautiful and well-wooded village, in which a few Franks and Armenians have their villas. The Maritza is seen for nearly fifteen miles winding through a long and fertile plain; and its course is distinguished by the magnificent trees which grow upon its banks. The town itself, of which a full panorama lies before us, has a peculiarly

agreeable effect from being thickly studded with trees, which contrast beautifully with the mosques, minarets, and various colours of the habitations.

October 7. Lord Dunlo went out shooting this morning, in company with the brother of the dragoman, by whom he was equipped for the field; but the fat pointer would not hunt, and the old gun would not go off, so it was a blank day with the sportsmen, who returned with an empty bag and good appetites. My fellow-traveller states the game to be plentiful.

October 8. A bright-eyed young Greek lady was so obliging as to indulge our curiosity by appearing before us this morning in the dress of the last new fashion from the grand signior's seraglio. This habit is called *antari:* the upper part, or what ladies call the body, fits close to the shape, and shews the form very distinctly, the neck and chest being only covered with a thin gauze; the lower part of the dress is divided into three long lappets, which trail on the ground, one behind and two in front; the hinder one is two feet, and the two

before each one foot broad. When the wearer walks, she places the two lappets between her legs, which, together with her capacious trousers, oblige her to make a stride at each step as if she were crossing a gutter.

This fashion, which is of the sultan's especial choice, is of one colour; his sublime highness being a great lover of uniformity in the dress as well as in the complexion of his ladies: thus, he is said to be proof against the most fascinating dark eyes, if the hair and skin of the possessor be not found to correspond.

The tightness of the body of the dress is made in imitation of European fashions: as a further mark of his admiration of them, the sultan has lately put the whole seraglio into stays: a Turkish lady recently arrived from Constantinople wears a very tight pair, and is said to be of a most waspish shape, very different from that rotundity of form of which Ottoman ladies used formerly to be so proud.

In the evening, the dragoman of the consulate and his wife came to pay their respects to Mrs. Duveluz. The lady is one of the belles

of Adrianople, and looked exceedingly well in the head-dress of the country—an embroidered handkerchief, round which the hair is fantastically but not ungracefully wove. The fate of her father was that of which a parallel instance might be brought forward in most of the leading Greek families of Adrianople. He was beheaded in the first year of the Greek revolution; his alleged crime was wearing the *fez* or red cap, the distinguishing mark of the Turk. We heard that one day, the weather being warm, he had taken off the *calpac* and had kept on the small red skull-cap which is generally worn under it; but in all probability the accusation was only a pretext for his execution: his situation as one of the principal Greek merchants would naturally have subjected him to the suspicion of being an accessory to the revolt; and, in such cases, a less offence would have ensured his doom.

CHAPTER XIV.

M. Iasigi — Anecdote of a Cossack — Mosque of Ooch Sherifler — Russian Barbarism — Mosque of Yeni Maret — Statue of Adrian — Abidy Bey, a Turkish Colonel of Hussars — His Dress — A Wallachian Prince — Captain Alexander — Russian Cavalry — Count Pahlen's Corps — Imperial Economy — Grotesque Dance — Protection of the Holy Virgin — Scott's Novels — A Visit to the Camp.

October 9. THIS morning Mons. Iasigi, a young merchant of Smyrna, and a native of that city, arrived here from Constantinople. He had brought with him a considerable caravan of merchandise, speculating upon the wants of the Russian army. At Rodosto, the pasha offered to send a kavass with him for some distance outside the town; and, at the same time, strongly recommended him to be very careful how he exposed his merchandise to view. We heard, at this time, that soldiers, belonging to the Pasha of Scutari, had been committing

depredations in the neighbourhood of Rodosto; hence, probably the reason of the pasha's friendly counsel.

At Eski Baba, Monsieur Iasigi saw a Cossack hold a Turk by the beard till he made the sign of the cross. The poor Mahometan thus assailed, bought his release from the grasp of his captor by complying with his request. The Russian savage became immediately satisfied; and they both walked off in perfect harmony together.

October 10. We made the round of the principal mosques of the town: one of the prettiest is the Ooch Sherifler, or "three galleries," so called from the minarets of the mosque having three galleries, or circular passages, from which the muezzim (assistant priest) calls Mahometans to prayers.

The court-yard is of an oblong form, having a portico supported by pillars; those on the side of the mosque are large, and of white marble; the others are of a smaller size, and of *verde antique*. The entrance to the mosque is by a large door of carved marble, in the arabesque style. The dome is tastefully orna-

mented with fresco representations of flowers. The *kebleh*, or that part of the mosque which faces Mecca, the burying-place of Mahomet, is like the chancel of an English church, and is ascended by a low step: on the right hand, is a small staircase to the *koorsee*, which answers to our pulpit; on the left, in a corner, is a trelliced gallery, for the grand signior.

There were several Turks at prayers, but they did not molest us; nor did they require Lord Dunlo or the consul to take off their boots. I wore *paepooshes*, (Turkish slippers), which I left at the door. There was little to see in the ceremony, the genuflections and prostrations being the same as those practised in the open air.

I was somewhat astonished to find here a subaltern's guard of Russians stationed in the court-yard. The Turks are highly offended at this insult to their religion; but the Russians excuse it on the plea of protecting the mosques from insult: it is probably to prevent the Mahometans from holding dangerous meetings, under the disguise of assembling for prayers. It would be well if this was the only insult

they have to complain of. Within the sacred precincts of the mosque, there is a place called *abtezlick*, where the Turks are in the habit of performing the ablutions prescribed by their religion, but which the Russians, to the disgrace of a people assuming to be civilised, have appropriated to a very different purpose.

This conduct, which appears impolitic on the part of the Russians, (whose whole aim seems to have been conciliation) proceeds from their entire ignorance of propriety. There is scarcely any nation in the world so utterly deficient in decency as the Russians. This was the more striking at Adrianople, from being so extremely at variance with the habits of the people among whom they are quartered. Of numerous instances, one may be cited, in addition to that which I have just recorded. Certain forms are considered indispensable in the Turkish baths, but they were quite lost on the barbarous Muscovites: the omission so disgusted the natives, that they immediately quitted the baths, leaving the rude stranger in undisturbed possession.

From Ooch Sherifler, we went to Yeni

Maret, another mosque, but very little frequented, and fast tumbling to ruins. At the corner of the gateway is a mutilated statue, supposed to be that of the Emperor Adrian. It is of red porphyry, and nothing but the trunk now remains, which shews the drapery of a Roman gown.

The Turks not only set no value on statues, but they are actuated by religious prejudices to destroy them as emblems of idolatry. Thus it has fared with poor Adrian. The fragment forms the curbstone of the court-yard, and a bitch, of the breed of curs which infest every Turkish town, was then giving suck to her litter of puppies under protection of its shade.

October 11. Lord Dunlo had met in the streets Abidy Bey, a young Turk of distinction, who is aide-de-camp to the sultan, and lieutenant-colonel of his sublime highness's own regiment of hussars. In the afternoon, he paid his lordship a visit, and partook of pipes and coffee. This is one of the remarkable changes brought about by the present sultan: formerly, no Turk of rank would have condescended to enter the house of a Christian.

The bey wore a tight braided blue jacket, loose European-shaped trousers, Wellington boots, and heeled spurs; in short, there was nothing Turkish about his dress but the *fez*, or scarlet cap. He had just returned from Philopopoli, whither he had been on a mission to the Pasha of Scutari. Happening to be in uniform at the time of the bey's arrival, my dress underwent a minute scrutiny, particularly the gold-laced forage-cap, the epaulettes, and the Waterloo medal: such military marks of distinction are eagerly desired by the young Osmanlis; and it is generally expected that the grand signior will attend to their wishes, whenever he shall consider himself sufficiently strong to attempt a further innovation.

October 12. We went this morning to the pasha, to beg he would allow us to take possession of Adrian's statue. He was very well disposed to meet our wishes, but was so divided between his fear of the Russians and of his own government, that he declined giving us a direct answer until Count Diebitsch should evacuate Adrianople.

While we were here, the commander-in-

chief's interpreter entered the room. He threw himself unceremoniously on the Ottoman, close to the pasha, whom he addressed in a loud voice, and in an unceremonious manner, highly derogatory to Turkish ideas of etiquette. It was not from ignorance of Mahometan customs that he did so, as he is a Wallachian prince, and a native of Constantinople. The conversation turning upon the beauties of that city, we bowed assent to some remarks of the pasha, but the prince said the metropolis was extremely dirty, and a disgrace to the government. To hear his capital abused, and that too by a rebel subject of the Porte, could not have been very gratifying to the pasha: and it was evident that the remarks were made by the Greek with a view of mortifying Turkish pride.

I was not a little surprised this morning to fall in with an old friend, fellow-student, and brother author, in the person of Captain Alexander. On comparing notes, we found that we had both left England at about the same time, but had come to Adrianople by widely different routes. While I had been wandering

with the Turks, he had been with their enemies, the Russians, having travelled from St. Petersburgh to the Crimea. He had latterly been staying with the Russian squadron, in the Black Sea, on board the flag-ship, with Admiral Greig, whose guest he then was. He had disembarked at Bourgaz, and had come with a Cossack courier, on a short visit to the Russian camp.

In our afternoon ride, we met a body of cavalry under command of our acquaintance, General Cheremetoff, which we had left at Oozan Kupri. We also saw Count Pahlen's corps of the army take up their ground on the Adrianople plain.

All the troops appeared to be in excellent order. The cavalry marched past in squadrons: the whole front rank, and every fourth man of the rear-rank of each division, were armed with spears, the Russians having found this species of weapon highly serviceable in the late campaign.

The infantry marched in columns of grand divisions, in their ordinary manner of three ranks. Although the day was oppressively hot,

they wore their great-coats — a severe penalty in such a climate as Turkey, but dictated by the economy of the emperor, who thereby saves their uniform green coats, which they receive every two years.

Several of the regiments were preceded by parties of men marching two deep, who sang in parts, with considerable effect. In the front of one regiment, a grenadier kept up a highly grotesque national dance, consisting of a variety of flourishings of the musket, and twirlings of the body.

There appeared to be what we should consider a great disproportion of officers. I understand a company to consist of two hundred men.

October 13. "The protection of the holy virgin," a Russian holyday. One of the officers told us that it was in commemoration of a miracle performed by the Virgin Mary, who, at a time when the Russians were threatened with a Tartar invasion, "covered them with her veil," by which means they were concealed from the view of their enemies! To celebrate this event, there was divine service in the metro-

politan Greek church. The ceremony was performed by a choir, consisting of officers and men. The congregation was small, comprising, for the most part, Bulgarians. One poor fellow, a Russian camp follower, who had recently recovered from sickness, dedicated several candles to the shrine of the Virgin, in gratitude for his recovery. His prostrations before her picture, which were continual, reminded me of the oriental origin of his nation: he frequently threw himself on his hands and knees, and struck his head against the pavement; and in this, as well as in several other instances, adopted the same attitudes as the Mahometans observe in their devotions. His dress and appearance were equally illustrative of this point,—a long beard, loose robes, and a red sash round the loins.

After the ceremony, we paid a visit to General Reuchtern, whom we found seated in front of his tent, reading Scott's novels,—the companions, as he told us, of his vacant hours.

We saw several other Russian officers in the course of the day. They had received intelligence of some movement of the Pasha of

Scutari, which had evidently created a stir amongst them. They stated that the pasha had advanced; that nearly half the Russian army had been moved in the direction of his quarters to meet them, in anticipation of hostilities on his part; that considerable uneasiness had for a time been felt, lest the head-quarters should be attacked while its detachments were at a distance; and that the pasha, if he really entertained the idea of recommencing hostilities, had let slip the favourable moment. The Russians said that the effective strength of their army was thirty thousand; that the Servians were ready to revolt; and that four thousand Bulgarians had actually imbodied themselves in rebellion against the Turkish government, in the neighbourhood of Ianboli. This last piece of information puzzled us at the time; but our subsequent journey over the Balcan solved the riddle.

CHAPTER XV.

Jewish Feast of the Tabernacles — Our Host — His beautiful Daughters — Their Dress — Their Notions of Delicacy — The poorer Class of Inhabitants — Their Form of Government — Anecdote of their Cowardice — Mahometan Service — Mosque of Sultan Selim — Visits from Russian Officers—Count Diebitsch made a Field-marshal—Affair between the Russians and the Pasha of Scutari — The Sultan's Ideas of Etiquette.

October 14. YESTERDAY commenced the Jewish Feast of the Tabernacles, in commemoration of the flight of the Israelites out of Egypt. We went this morning to a Jew's house, to see what might be the peculiar ceremony on the occasion; but we were merely shewn a small kiosk, covered at the top with reeds, and furnished with carpets and cushions. The Jews do not sleep in these temporary dwellings, but only eat their meals here during the feast, which lasts ten days.

Our host introduced us to his wife and his two daughters. They all wore large turbans,

terminating in a peak, resembling those worn by the Turks in the last century, as shewn in the drawings of Tavernier and other old travellers.

The younger ladies, who were both mothers, might be called beautiful. One was fair, the other dark: the latter, in particular, attracted our attention. Lord Dunlo and myself both agreed, that she would have been no bad personation of Walter Scott's Rebecca, in the novel of "Ivanhoe."

They were dressed in loose flowing robes; their necks and chests were covered with a thin muslin; they each wore a weighty necklace, with the pendants resting on the bosom; a rich girdle encircled their loins, the clasp of which fell below the stomach; on their arms and wrists were a profusion of bracelets and necklaces, the "badges of their tribe." Their petticoats were long, and their pretty bare feet were but very slightly concealed by a light yellow slipper.

In consonance with the universal custom of the country, we partook of pipes and coffee, without which ceremonial a visit would be null

and void; and, as a token of our being favoured guests, we tasted sweetmeats, — not the less sweet for being presented to us by the fair hands of our pretty hostesses.

The ladies of the family spoke Greek, which may be considered as an accomplishment. They were very conversable, and asked us several questions about the Jewesses in England, and seemed much shocked at the impropriety of married women having their heads uncovered. The fair Israelites of my own country would not have thought much of their propriety, if they had seen them, as we did, bare their breasts to silence the squalling of two crying brats, who were interrupting the conversation.

The men of the family spoke the Spanish language, which has descended to them from their immediate ancestors, whom a cruel and barbarous policy expelled from Spain early in the sixteenth century. They retain several customs of their former country; and their municipal officers are called "rigedors," the name by which they were known in Spain.

The Turks of that period, more enlightened

than the Spaniards, received the fugitives, and granted them several privileges, many of which have been since taken from them, and given to the Armenians.

It may be worthy of remark, that the Jews here comprise perhaps the poorest class of inhabitants. Among other causes, are the extraordinary talents for business possessed by the Armenians, who, both in the art of making money, and in the feelings which such an occupation too often generates, supply that place in Turkey, which, in Christian kingdoms, is considered to belong to the Jews.

A kakam bashee, or grand rabbi, and two other rabbis, chosen for life by the people, form a triumvirate, charged with the principal authority. It participates in the formation of the laws, and is at the same time the supreme tribunal.

A council of seven members, also elected for life by the nation, forms the second branch of the legislative power. It can remonstrate with the triumvirate, and can convoke the national assembly.

All questions agitated and approved in the

national assembly, ought to obtain the consent of the triumvirate and council of seven, to become binding, and to form a part of the national law.*

The Turks call the Jews *mustafirs*, or "visitors," in allusion to the emigration of their ancestors. They treat them with kindness, but have an utter contempt for them. They tell a story, which, whether true or not, shews the estimation they are held in by the Ottomans.

Thoughts had been entertained by the Turkish government of employing the Jews as soldiers. They were assembled, to the number of some thousands, and were about to march, when they desired that two armed kavasses might escort them through the town, to protect them from the insults of the mob!

October 15. This day being Friday, the Mahometan sabbath, I was anxious to avail myself of an opportunity which rarely occurs to Christian travellers, of attending the Mahometan service in the mosque. When I signified to Mustapha my intention of going, he

* Vide, on this subject, Jucherau, tome i. p. 161.

made me no answer, but went to Lord Dunlo, and the other inmates of the house, to induce them to dissuade me from my purpose. In vain he pointed out the insult and danger to which I should be exposed: they dived into his real motive (which was, an aversion to being seen in a Frank's company in a mosque), and turned a deaf ear to his representations. The result proved that his fears for me (if he really had any) were groundless, as I went and returned without meeting the slightest molestation. Receiving no support in his objections, he accompanied me with a tolerable grace till he got near the mosque, when, telling me to take no further notice of him, he gave me the dead cut, hid himself from my view till the service was over, and did not own me again until he came to the Christian part of the town, where it was no disgrace to acknowledge a Giaour.

The approach to Sultan Selim is by two court-yards. In the middle of the interior one is an enclosed fountain. Round this were several Turks performing the ablutions enjoined by the Koran, with all the peculiar gravity of their nation: their demeanour was curiously

contrasted by the boisterous mirth of a group of idle boys, who, not having the fear of a parish beadle before their eyes, were playing at some noisy game, the sound of which from without seemed to drown the solemn chanting from within.

The dome is supported in the interior by eight large pillars, the shafts of which are formed into regular pentagons, and painted with large stripes of blue, and smaller ones of red. On the capital of the pillars on the right and left of the *kebleh*, are inscribed the names of Allah (God) and of Mahomet. On the remaining capitals, those of Abobekir, Omar, Othman, Ali, Hassan, and Hosein. The interior roof of the dome is ornamented with fantastic paintings in fresco of wreaths of flowers, enclosing verses from the Koran. On one side of the *kebleh* is a *koorsee* (pulpit): it is ascended by several steps, and the *koorsee* itself is shaped like a minaret, and is ornamented with gilded wood richly carved. The space we should allot to windows is filled up with masonry, which is perforated by a succession of circular apertures, like the " bull's-eyes"

on board a ship, which admit the light: below them are a few small windows of stained glass. From the vertex of the dome is suspended a large chandelier: it is encircled by a succession of several concentric circles of iron, from which hang several lamps, some egg-shaped ornaments, some plaited ears of corn (in commemoration of deliverance from famine), and a small model of Mecca.

The beauty of Sultan Selim has been much over-rated; there is nothing magnificent in the decorations, and it owes less to the splendour of its ornaments than to the correctness of its proportions.

I attended the mid-day service: the whole congregation were in the kneeling posture, their insteps flat on the ground, and their bodies resting on their heels. An imaun was before the altar, and chanting in a strain not unlike that in our cathedrals. On pronouncing the words "*Allah ickbar*" (God is victorious), they all simultaneously prostrated themselves, and striking their foreheads three times against the pavement, they called out "*Subah en Allah,*" (God be with us). On the repetition of the words

"*Allah ickbar*" by the imaun, who acted as fugleman, they rose up with the same precision, and continued standing. The effect of this uniform movement in their great variety of dress was exceedingly curious.

To the imaun's prayers succeeded those of the muezzim, who continued chanting for some time in a harsh falsetto, and a service of responses then followed. An imaun now ascended the *koorsee:* he began by invoking blessings on all the sovereigns who had preceded Mahmoud, the present grand signior, to the mention of each of whose names the people called *ameen* (amen). The list was closed by a prayer for Mahmoud himself. The imaun then chanted extempore several verses from the Koran. In one part of the service the congregation, with uplifted hands and inverted palms, called out, "*Rub Illah ameen,*" (God pardons every one,) a prayer in which infidels are included, and a part of the creed but little in unison with Mahometan intolerance.

The service ended by the priest giving the benediction of "*Salam alekoom,*" (Peace be with you), to which the congregation all

answered, "*Aleikoom salam*," (To you also be peace).

We were visited this afternoon by General Reuchtern and two Russian aides-de-camp, one of Count Diebitsch, the other of the Emperor of Russia. This last had just arrived from St. Petersburgh, with the appointment of Count Diebitsch to the rank of field-marshal. By this honour, the highest that can be bestowed in Russia, the count takes precedence of the imperial family, and ranks (I believe) the third person in the empire, the two before him being the Emperor Nicolas and the Duke of Wellington. There was also a considerable promotion in the army, by which our friend Reuchtern became a lieutenant-general. The same officer brought intelligence that the ratification of the peace by the emperor would arrive in a few days. It had been delayed upon the pretext that it required some time to prepare it in a manner suitable to the Mahometan taste. A much shorter delay on the part of the Turks had been greatly complained of by the Russians.

October 18. One hundred and twenty

Albanian prisoners, and three pieces of cannon, under a strong escort, entered Adrianople early this morning, from the direction of Mustapha Pasha. They had been taken in an action which had occurred between the Russians and the army of the Pasha of Scutari. The Russian general is Geismar, the same who so distinguished himself last year against the Albanians at Widdin, when he defeated, as we were told, an army of twenty thousand men, with a force amounting to four thousand.

The accounts of the Russians' loss in the late affair were various: one person informed us that not one had been killed, and another that the loss was very severe. The leader of the Albanians is a pasha of two tails, in the service of the Scutari chieftain.

Early in the month of October, the Pasha of Scutari advanced on Philopopoli with fifteen thousand Albanians and sixteen guns. General Diebitsch sent to know his intentions: he replied, that he was going to take up his quarters at Demotica. A series of messages ensued between the Albanian and Russian generals. The pasha desired Diebitsch to evacuate

Adrianople, now that peace was effected between Russia and Turkey. The other answered by a threat to advance on Philopopoli, if he did not quit that city. The Albanian then said, that his quarrel was not with the Russians, but with the grand signior, from whom he required pay for his troops. The Albanians performing feudal service, were not entitled to remuneration from the Porte. Count Diebitsch, therefore, very naturally discredited the statement of the Albanian, though subsequent events have proved that he was sincere in the intentions he professed.

These movements of the Pasha of Scutari, accompanied by accounts of a body of troops and two or three pashas having assembled at Rodosto, and further, the non-arrival of the ratification of the treaty by the sultan, made Diebitsch imagine that something hostile was intended.

To prevent the junction of the two forces, the line of the Maritza, as far as Enos, was occupied. Three brigades of infantry, with some cavalry, were sent on the high road to observe the motions of the pasha; and General

Geismar received orders to keep him always in sight.

The ratification not arriving, an aide-de-camp was despatched to Constantinople, to hurry the signature of the sultan, which had been protracted for a considerable time.

I must digress for a moment, to mention the reason of the delay, since it is characteristic of the monarch, who is alleged to have risen above the prejudices of his nation.

The paper on which these documents are generally written, is gilded and painted in a particular manner. Unfortunately, none of the precious material was ready; and some days were required to manufacture it. It was in vain that they represented to the sultan the necessity of the signature, and not of the gilded paper. Nothing would move him. Like the King of Spain, who died of heat because the proper attendant was not by to remove his chair from the fire, this enlightened "king of kings" ran the risk of having his capital taken, rather than infringe the slightest iota of etiquette.

At last, the document, duly bedizened and

gilded, made its appearance; and lucky was it for the sultan that it did so, for the Russian general fully intended to have advanced on the capital at all hazards, if the ratification had not opportunely made its appearance.

In the meanwhile, the Pasha of Scutari continued to assume the same hostile attitude. Relying on his own strength, and his master's weakness, he advanced towards Adrianople; and a party of his troops had reached Mustapha Pasha, when the action which I have just recorded was the consequence.

The Pasha of Scutari, since the execution of the celebrated Ali of Ianina, may be considered the most powerful chieftain of Albania. That land of robbers has always, from the turbulence of its governors, been a very troublesome appendage to the Ottoman empire. Secure in the fastnesses of their rugged mountains, the pashas have ever shewn a very equivocal allegiance to the Porte. Ali, pasha of Ianina, maintained for a series of years a successful opposition to the authority of the sultan; and had almost converted his

pashalic into an hereditary kingdom, when he expiated his opposition with his head.

We heard from Abidy Bey that there were twelve thousand Christians in the Scutari army; and even among the Arnaouts, or those Albanians who profess the Mahometan faith, they are no very zealous adherents of the Arabian prophet; for, to use the words of Anastasius, "Wavering for the most part between Christ and Mahomet, the worship of the Arnaouts is generally determined by the master they serve,"* — a circumstance that will always facilitate the resistance of the chieftains to an authority which depends so much on the fanatic zeal of Mahometanism for its support.

It was generally believed at Adrianople, that the pasha was only waiting for a favourable opportunity to throw off the Turkish yoke altogether,—a belief which derived some colour from his conduct in the late war. During the whole campaign, he made no movement whatever to co-operate with the Turkish

* Anastasius, vol. i. p. 29.

army, although he might have been of the greatest service to the grand vizier at Shumla. This neglect of aid was attributed to the known hatred which subsisted between him and the grand vizier, whom he considered as a near and powerful rival when that personage was Pasha of Ianina. Since that period he has confirmed the opinion of his disaffection, by appearing in open rebellion against the Porte; and the grand vizier has also illustrated his hatred of his rival, by inviting several of his officers to a friendly conference, and then putting them, every one, to death, — an act of semi-barbarous perfidy worthy of the times of Cæsar Borgia; which will serve as an answer to the boasted honour and good faith of the Turk, and to his pretensions to a place amongst the civilised nations of Europe.

CHAPTER XVI.

Captain Alexander leaves Adrianople — A Bulgarian Funeral — Executions on the Philopopoli Road — Howling Dervishes — Mustapha's Remark — Fortune-telling — A Corps of Russians leave Adrianople for Russia — Te Deum — Field-Marshal Count Diebitsch Zabalcansky — Count Wittginstein — General Damelousky — Karabet, an Armenian — Exchange of the Russian and Turkish Ratifications of Peace.

Soon after the arrival of the prisoners, General Reuchtern sent his aide-de-camp to apologise to the consul for not dining with him, having received orders to march immediately to Mustapha Pasha, to replace General Rüdiger, who was taken ill.

Captain Alexander took leave of Count Diebitsch, preparatory to his returning on board Admiral Greig's ship. The field-marshal requested him to tell the admiral that "every thing was pacific." Did General Geismar's action come under this denomination?

October 20. A hard frost during the night; the morning bitterly cold. Captain Alexander left us for Bourgaz, to rejoin the Russian fleet.

In the course of the day there passed under our windows the funeral of a Bulgarian child. Our attention was drawn to it by a noise which proceeded from the mourners, not unlike the Irish howl. The coffin was open, the body was decorated with flowers and ribands, and the hands were made to grasp a nosegay.

The doctor to the pasha, who, from his intercourse with the Turks, is privy to their gossip, told us that the grand vizier, Redschid Pasha, had been asked for his seals of office by the sultan; but that he refused to resign them, on the plea that he had done nothing to justify their being taken from him; he should therefore keep them, not for Mahmoud, the present sultan, but for his son.

This report may or may not be true. It is very generally believed that he is in disgrace with the grand signior; but his command of the army, and his supposed understanding with the disaffected, would make the evincement

of that feeling a dangerous measure in the present critical state of the empire.

October 21. Another intensely cold morning. There was ice on all the water in the house.

October 22. At four this afternoon, Mr. Fricker, a king's messenger, arrived from Semlin with despatches for our ambassador. Near Philopopoli, he had seen several men hanging on each side of the road. They had been executed by order of the Pasha of Scutari, for depredations on the highway. A place was pointed out to him where the bodies of eleven murdered travellers had been found, a short time before. The Pasha of Scutari was said to be very much dissatisfied with General Geismar's late attack on his troops.

October 23. We went to see the howling dervishes. The dancing sect are to be seen at Constantinople; but as the sect of howlers are not so common there, we made a point of being present.

The place where this strange exhibition took place was a boarded room, with a railed

gallery on two of its sides. In one corner were several flags, which had been deposited there when the Turks had first entered Adrianople. From the ceiling were suspended several plaits of ears of corn, to commemorate the effectual interposition of the dervishes' prayers in a time of famine. Near the kebleh were some knives, iron skewers, pincers, and other implements of torture, which the most frantic occasionally use. Through a trellice-work, at the lower end of the room, we saw the coffins of the ancestors of the chief dervish; this office descending from father to son.

When we entered, we found about thirty dervishes seated in a circle. In the midst of them was the chief, and on his right hand his son and official successor, a boy of about eight years old. The whole party were swinging their bodies from side to side, repeating at each motion the word Allah! This continued some time, when the chief quoted a sentence from the Koran, which was taken up by the rest, who made a tolerable chorus of it, the boyish tenor of the chief's son harmonising with the sonorous bass of the men. They now rose up,

and other distiches accompanied their motions. Sometimes they swung themselves from side to side; at others they moved violently backwards and forwards. As the ceremony proceeded, the chanting of sentences gave place to convulsive sobbings, like what would be excited by the suffering of intense bodily pain. Then followed a chorus of loud grunting, of so ludicrous a nature, that it was with the greatest difficulty we could refrain from bursting into laughter. At intervals the motions were accelerated by the beating of drums and tambourines. On these occasions they would simultaneously jump from the ground, beat their breasts violently, assume the trembling of palsy, and break out into the most frightful howlings. As the increased motion caused them to perspire profusely, they fairly stripped to their work; and an officiating dervish was ready to relieve them of their caps and cloaks. Contrary to the Turkish custom of keeping the head shaved, they wore their hair long; so that when they uncovered their heads, they exhibited long shaggy locks, which, hanging over their faces, added to the wild, distracted

appearance which they had assumed in this religious farce.

The whole scene beggared description; and it would be difficult to say whether the sounds they uttered bore most resemblance to the braying of asses, the howling of wolves, or the grunting of hogs.

On our return home, Mons. Iasigi, who is a Roman Catholic, asked Mustapha, in Italian, what he thought of the absurd practices of those rascals, the dervishes. His reply was, that there was as little mention of dervishes in the Koran as there was of friars in the Bible; and, added he, respecting these rascals the dervishes, they are like your rascals the monks, who have a thousand roguish things in *their books* which are not to be found in THE BOOK.

October 24. A sly-looking old dervish, of reputed sanctity, came to-day to tell our fortunes. His nonsense is only worth recording as shewing the universal prevalence of similar superstitions.

After making a numerical calculation of the letters of our names, he read our destinies out of a book. Lord Dunlo's star was in

the sixth heavens. The writer in the second heaven had decided that Wednesday is his fortunate day. He will be a rich and great man. His commands will be obeyed, as those of a king. He will have many enemies. He will have strife with those with whom he eats bread and salt. If he have a charm on his right arm, the good peri (fairy) will protect him. He had an illness at two years old; he has since been in health, and will die at a good old age.

My fortunate day is Friday. The evil eye has power over me. My heart is as light as the wind. I am impatient, if my orders are not instantly obeyed. My existence will be happy. I have royal blood in my veins. I am anxious about some lady. I also have enemies amongst the eaters of my bread and salt. A person whom I have benefited tries to injure me, but will neither succeed in this world nor the next. I make the best of every thing. Late in life I am to go to the holy land. My guardian angel's seal will protect me from the evil eye and evil tongue. I am to marry three, six, or nine wives.

It is to be hoped, that, if I must fulfil this last part of my destiny, my guardian angel's seal will protect me from the penalty which the laws of my country will inflict for such an indulgence.

October 25. A small present that we made to the dervishes, at their last exhibition, induced them to invite us again, holding out as an inducement their intention of torturing themselves with red-hot irons. We went, in the expectation of witnessing this exhibition, which, though I hardly know whether we ought to say so, we were disappointed by their not performing.

October 27. The fifth corps of the Russian army, seven thousand strong, marched from their encampment for Russia. Previous to their departure, a *Te Deum* was performed. The troops were formed into a large hollow square, open at each of the angles. In the centre were the priests in their full canonical robes, an officiating choir of soldiers, and all the general and principal staff officers. The heads of the whole assembly were uncovered. The appearance of the priests, with their

oriental costume, their long hair and flowing beards, like the prophets of old, was remarkably striking. The chanting was extremely melodious. The principal priest, six feet five inches high, was an exceedingly handsome man: his light hair was parted on the forehead, and allowed to hang down his shoulders; his long beard rested upon a kind of ephod, or breast-plate, upon which was emblazoned a golden cross. The voice of the singers harmonised like the notes of a finely-toned organ. After this service, a large metal or silver bowl, full of water, was carried round the square, into which the principal priests dipped a brush, and with it besprinkled the soldiers as they passed.

The most conspicuous actor in this performance was Field-Marshal Diebitsch, who, though a Protestant by profession, vied with the most devout in the crossings, besprinklings, and genuflexions. The contrast between his appearance and that of the principal priest was highly ludicrous, he being as much below, as the priest is above, the common height. But the little field-marshal is too great a man not to call forth a more particular description of

his personal appearance; more especially so, because, like the milk-maid in the nursery-song, though in a very opposite sense, his "face," may be said to have been "his fortune."

Field-Marshal Count Diebitsch is a little, fat, plethoric-looking man, something less than five feet high; he has a very large head, with long black hair, small piercing eyes, and a complexion of the deepest scarlet, alike expressive of his devotion to cold punch, and of a certain irascibility of temper, which has elicited from the troops, to his proud title of *Zabalcansky* (or the Trans-Balcanian), the additional one of the *Semavar* (or the tea-kettle).

I have said that Count Diebitsch owes his fortune to his face; the sequel will shew how. He is the second son of a Prussian officer, who was on the staff of Frederic. At an early age he entered the Russian army, and obtained a company in the imperial guard. It was at this time that the King of Prussia came on a visit to the Russian autocrat, and it so happened that it was Captain Diebitsch's tour of duty to mount guard on the royal visitor.

The emperor foresaw the ridiculous figure the little captain would cut at the head of the tall grenadiers, and desired a friend delicately to hint to him that it would be agreeable to his imperial master if he would resign the guard to a brother officer. Away goes the friend, meets the little captain, and bluntly tells him, that the emperor wishes him not to mount guard with his company; for, adds he, "l'empereur dit, et il faut convenir, que vous avez l'extérieur terrible." This "delicate hint" that his exterior was too terrible to be seen at the head of troops not remarkable for good looks, so irritated the future hero of the Balcan, that, with his natural warmth of temper, he begged to resign, not his tour of duty only, but the commission he held in the Russian army; and being a Prussian, and not a Russian subject, desired to be allowed to return to his native country.

The Emperor Alexander, who appears to have formed a just estimate of his talents, easily found means to pacify him, by giving him promotion in the line. He has subsequently made himself so useful in that part of

the service, where beauty was not indispensable, that the late emperor placed him at the head of the general staff, which situation he held when the reigning emperor appointed him to succeed Count Wittginstein in the chief command.

Respecting this last personage, who has been much blamed for the ill success which attended the Russian arms during his command, I should mention a belief generally entertained by the Russians, that Wittginstein would have done very well, if it had not been for the constant interference of the Emperor Nicolas. It is said that Diebitsch was fully aware of this circumstance; and on being offered the command, expressly stipulated, as a condition of his acceptance, that he should be entirely unshackled by the imperial "Je le veux."

When the last religious rite was performed, the field-marshal and his staff mounted their horses, and the former, coming forward, addressed a few words to the soldiers, who received the order from their leaders to shout applause. They obeyed it, as they would any

other command; a faint cheer issued from their lips, while the rest of their immovable features seemed, as they ever do, utter strangers to the relaxation of a smile.

The troops now filed off, and marched past the field-marshal, on their road to Selimno. Their progress was enlivened by the vocal bands for which the Russians are so famous. The regiments were scarcely seven hundred strong: their full complement is three thousand; but plague, disease, famine, and the sword, had reduced them to their present numbers.

We were first made acquainted with Field-Marshal Diebitsch, who desired our little carriage might be placed so as to have a good sight of the troops marching off.

Returning home, we were overtaken by General Damelousky, the *chef d'état-major*, who introduced himself to Lord Dunlo as an old acquaintance of his father's, Lord Clancarty, whom he had met at the congress of Vienna, while in attendance on the Emperor Alexander.

We fulfilled our engagement this evening

with Karabet, a rich Armenian banker, whom Lord Dunlo had seen in the streets in a wretched threadbare cloak: he was now in full costume: he received us in a handsome divan, furnished with ottomans, and entertained us with sweetmeats, pipes, coffee, wine, fruits, and some very palatable Turkish dishes. We were waited upon by his wife and daughters, who, in conformity to custom, performed all those offices in which servants are employed with us. They were, however, richly dressed. Indeed, to judge by the appearance of every thing around, it seemed as if the Armenian was determined, by the luxury within doors, to compensate for the humble appearance which policy induces him to assume on the opposite side of the threshold.

Anastasius remarks the same caution as being practised by the Greeks of the Fanar. In the present instance, there was an additional cause for this conduct. The advance of the Russians had in the first case so elated every class of Christians, that even the generally phlegmatic Armenians were moved, and testified their joy in a manner most offensive to

the Turkish government. The consequence was, that they were in great apprehension for their fate, when the departure of the Russians should have left them at the discretion of the sultan. Our host Karabet was fully impressed with this fear, and wished on that account to become the dragoman of Mr. Duveluz; a situation of trifling emolument, but which would have afforded him protection from the grand signior's power. For the same reason, he was anxious to let his house to the British consul.

October 28. The Turks had, for some time past, been anxiously expecting the exchange of the ratifications of peace from St. Petersburgh. They had delayed their document a considerable time; and the Russians, whose policy it doubtless suited to remain at Adrianople, now determined to return the compliment. To the question, "When will the ratification arrive?" they had always some ready answer. Sometimes it was alleged, that the illuminated ornaments, to suit the Turkish taste, had occupied so much time; and when the period had expired, in which they had

promised to evacuate the town, we heard that the ratification was on its way, but that the diplomatist in charge of it was in a weak state of health, and was coming by easy stages. The choice of such a messenger shewed the exact degree of the Russians' haste.

At length the long-expected document arrived; and this morning being appointed for the exchange, we all sallied forth to witness the ceremony.

Escorted by a regiment of lancers, the Turkish plenipotentiaries (whose full powers extended not to the alteration of one iota of the treaty), proceeded to the quarters of Count Diebitsch; and there, in the former palace of the sultans, delivered a document that, without the gift of prophecy, one may foretell will prove the death-warrant of the Ottoman power.

These personages were received by a guard of honour, with presented arms. Their horses were so startled by the salute, that it was with great difficulty they could be induced to pass, snorting all the way, as if conscious of beholding their country's foes, and shrinking as it were with instinctive dislike of the busi-

ness in which their masters were engaged. Whatever the beasts might think, the riders seemed so to consider the ceremony, — the habitual solemnity of each countenance having darkened into the deepest gloom.

CHAPTER XVII.

Visit the Archbishop of Adrianople — Greek Inscription — Why did not the Russians advance on Constantinople? — Probable Causes — Policy of the Russians — High Discipline of their Army — Their Regard to Property — The Effect of this Conduct on the Inhabitants — Russians welcomed by the Greeks and Bulgarians, who are disaffected to the Turkish Government — The Cause — The Invasion agreeable to the Turks, but not the Invaders — Turkish Nicknames to the Army — The Enemy, how esteemed by the Mahometan Ladies — The Sultan's Attempt at Female Reform — Its Degree of Success — Adrianople Scandal.

October 31. As our stay at Adrianople was drawing to a close, we took leave of our acquaintances, and paid a long visit to the archbishop, with whom we had always been on terms of great intimacy. This gentleman is a native of Candia, an island celebrated for the humour of its inhabitants; and our reverend friend is not deficient in the characteristics of his country.

He is a stout well-built man, with arch-looking features, full sparkling gray eyes, shaded by large bushy eyebrows, like those of the late Dr. Parr, whom he strongly resembles both in features and manner. His usual cheerfulness had, however, forsaken him this morning, and he appeared to be in considerable alarm for his fate; not, indeed, without some grounds for fear. The walls of his house remind him that several who have filled his situation have died martyrs to the cause; and his immediate predecessor had, only a few years back, been hanged from one of the windows of his present residence.

His office, at all times a precarious one, was still more so after the termination of the late war. The Russians, on entering Adrianople, had selected the Greek cathedral to celebrate the *Te Deum*, and the archbishop had been obliged to attend. A short time afterwards, Count Diebitsch had made a promise of redeeming some slaves of the Greek islands, but the Turks refused to give them up to the Bulgarians who came to demand them. The Russian commandant was applied

to, on the part of the Christians, for assistance, and he furnished them with a guard to enforce the delivery: upon this the Mahometans remonstrated with the field-marshal, who denied that he had given the commandant any authority, and even threatened to reduce him to the rank of a private soldier. The archbishop had endeavoured to obtain the pardon of those Greeks who had been instrumental in procuring the escape of their captive fellow-countrymen. These circumstances had attracted the notice of the Turkish plenipotentiaries, who were naturally, at this time, not much disposed to look indulgently on these acts of the infidel subjects of the Porte; and had, as we were told, made an unfavourable report of them to the grand signior.

The archbishop's flock had caused him considerable anxiety, and especially the Bulgarians. Shortly before our arrival, he had, after Divine service, entreated them to remember, that though the Russians were in temporary possession of Adrianople, it was to the grand signior only that they owed allegiance.

Our interview lasted an hour and a half;

and though the conversation was for the most part serious, the characteristic buoyancy of the Greek character would shine forth, and for a few moments dispel the cloud of anxious care which overshadowed his brow.

The archbishop's house is built close to the wall which encloses the portion of the town called the Castle. This space is occupied principally by the rayah population. A short time ago an earthquake shook down several stones from the wall. Upon one of them is an inscription, of which the following is a copy: it is written in the barbarous Greek characters of the Lower Empire, and appears to attribute the building of a tower to Dionysius of Constantine:

"Αναξ Μιχαήλ Αυσονων ὄντως κλέος
Λύτρωον εὑρὲ· Διονη Κωνσταντίνου
Πύργωμα τ*χη καταναντι βαρβάρων
Μαχας πρὸς αυτῶν αρτοητον καθὰ πὰξ.

It has been asked, why did not Count Diebitsch advance upon Constantinople?

The universal opinion in Turkey was, that

* Illegible.

he was prevented by the representations of the other European powers. This probably was the principal cause; but if we examine the conduct of the Russian cabinet, we shall find, that its policy has ever been to make the attacked country pay, as long as it is able, the expenses of the war, and to impose such terms upon the invaded as they shall be unable to fulfil, and by that means afford a pretext to renew hostilities at pleasure. They did so with respect to the Crimea, of which they afterwards became the masters; and the impossible conditions of the treaty of Adrianople have paved the way to a similar line of policy towards Turkey.

To these considerations, Count Diebitsch might probably have added, the badness of his supplies, the dreadful ravages that the climate was making among his soldiers, the plague both in the camp and fleet; the grand vizier with the garrison of Shumla, the Pasha of Scutari with the Albanians, the Pasha of Servia with another force, all of them on his rear; the probability of being embroiled with the most powerful European states; and the

almost certain destruction of the Russian squadron in the Archipelago by our navy, if the troops should have attempted to advance on the Turkish capital.

From the conduct of the Russians at Adrianople, it is very evident that, although their present visit has been a short one, they certainly intend to make a more permanent stay when they shall next honour this country with their company. How else should they have so far constrained themselves, as to forego those habits of violence and rapine which have made them a by-word with civilised Europe, and appear in the novel character of quiet, orderly, and honest troops?

The strictest discipline prevailed throughout the army. Between Enos and Adrianople, and in the neighbourhood of several large bodies of troops, the plains were full of flocks of sheep and cattle, principally buffaloes: in the villages near the bivouacs, and even in those through which the troops were marching, the doors of the houses were standing open, the inhabitants were at their usual occupations, and quantities of all sorts of poultry were run-

ning about. The time I speak of is the month of October, and this description is not quite applicable to some other parts of the country through which our route lay.

On their arrival at Adrianople, the utmost regard was paid to the persons and property of the inhabitants: the only casualty I heard of, was relating to a Cossack, who, having forced his way into a haram, was discovered by the proprietor, and put to death on the spot. The fact came to the ears of Count Diebitsch, who applauded the Turk for the manner in which he had behaved. They paid scrupulously for whatever they procured; they were encamped outside the town; and even as late as November, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, the troops were not billeted on the inhabitants; guards were placed on the mosques, on the plea of defending them from insult; and the few Turkish children Count Diebitsch found doing duty as troops, he disarmed, and very properly sent home to their mothers.

This conduct had its due effect on every class of inhabitants: that it should render them acceptable to the Christians, is natural enough.

At the breaking out of the revolution in 1821, the Greeks of Adrianople had evinced so lively an interest in the success of their countrymen, as to cause the Turks to put to death the principal members of nearly every Greek family in the town. Still, the feelings of the people remained unsubdued; and I had occasion to remark here, as I had afterwards, even in the most retired villages of Asia Minor, infallible indications of a secret intelligence subsisting between the Greeks subject to the Porte, and those who have thrown off its yoke. It is hardly to be supposed that this predominant feeling should be dormant at a moment when deliverance seemed so near at hand. Numerous proclamations were issued by the commander-in-chief, and constant exhortations were given from the pulpit by our good friend the archbishop, to remind the Greeks that they still owed allegiance to the sultan: but the sanguine temperament of the nation could not be suppressed at such a time, and they hailed, with the greatest enthusiasm, their victorious fellow-Christians, as deliverers who were come to release them from the chains of the tyrant.

But with the Bulgarians and Russians there was a still more intimate connexion: to the strong tie of religion, they added that of language. No sooner did the Russians appear, than they were immediately claimed by their fellow-Sclavonians as relations and brothers: some, I heard, had actually entered their army: several, while I was there, had signified their intention of going to Russia with the troops: my last letters from Adrianople state, that numbers had quitted the town, and that many more were on the point of departure. The joy of the usually quiet Bulgarians at the appearance of Christian troops, betrayed them into numerous indications of their hatred of the Turkish government, so elated were they at seeing their oppressors humbled.

It remains to be seen whether the sultan will visit these derelictions of duty on the rayahs who remain, after the final departure of the Russians. He had better not, for his own sake: he will no longer meet with that passive obedience to which he has hitherto been accustomed. Any act of violence on his part would,

in all probability, be followed by the desertion, or perhaps by the open rebellion, of that class of his subjects from whom he draws the greater portion of his revenues.

The cause of this disaffection of the rayahs may, like every other misfortune that is now weighing upon the Ottoman empire, be traced to its own vicious and impolitic system of government.

When the Turks took possession of a Christian country, the property was divided into three portions; the first belonged to the mosques, the second to the crown, the third to the defenders of the state. The condition of the conquered people was left quite out of the question: exempted by their religion (at least in later years) from being employed as soldiers, it was sufficient for them to cultivate the land, and to devote the fruits of their labour to the exigencies of the church and state, as by law established.

The Turks have now to discover the wretched policy of creating, by unjust restrictions, in any class of people, feelings hostile to the general

welfare of the country, and of converting those who might have been useful subjects into disaffected slaves.

Cultivators or sailors, the Greeks are accustomed to fatigue: labour has furnished them with all the physical, and their own active minds would have given all the moral, qualities necessary for soldiers. Had their religion proved no bar to their advancement, had they been admitted to an equal participation of rights, their swords might have now been successfully employed in resisting the invasion of the common foe.

What is the result? They have become acquainted with their rights as men, they feel their own strength, and are fully aware of the weakness of their tyrants. One half of European Turkey has thrown off the Ottoman yoke, and the subjection of the other half is little more than nominal.

Before the destruction of the janizaries, the Turk, influenced by his priests, who dreaded the introduction of European knowledge, regarded with equal contempt the rayahs of the empire, and the civilised nations of Christendom.

Proud in the fancied infallibility of his own creed, and of the privileges it ensured him, the orthodox Osmanli vaunted himself on his religious ascendency, and venerated the pious and immortal memory of his predecessors, who had made every religion but his own a bar of exclusion from the honours of the state. This consideration had supported him in the patient endurance of the most oppressive tyranny. Practically impressed with the belief that his king could do no wrong, he considered his will as the unerring decree of fate. He regarded the approach of a Christian army as fraught with the destruction of his rights and religion, and rallied with pious zeal round the holy standard of his prophet.

But what the enemy had been unable to do, that very sovereign had effected. The proud distinctions of the faith vanished with the abolition of its former defenders. The Turk now feels that his contest is no longer *pro aris et focis*, but that the arms of the true believer are required for the service of the infidel king.

Instead, therefore, of viewing a Christian

army as the destroyers of their rights and privileges, the Turk looked to their advance as the only chance of deliverance from an intolerable yoke.

Thus predisposed in favour of the Russians, their arrival at Adrianople gave almost equal satisfaction to Mahometan and Christian; and this feeling on the part of the former people was further confirmed by the moderation of the army during its stay. "If," argues the Turk, "we are to have an infidel for a king, let him at least be one who will pay some regard to our lives and property."

This gratification of the Turk at seeing his country in the possession of the conquerors, must not be confounded with any particular good-will to the Russians themselves. Independently of the mortification the proud Mahometan must have felt at defeat by a nation he despised, the characters of the two people are so completely opposed, as to preclude the possibility of a very cordial feeling ever subsisting between them. Consequently, the extreme filth of the Russians, their utter want of decency, their notorious propensity to

theft, must be highly at variance with the habits of a people who are enjoined by their religion to wash five times a-day, whose external propriety of conduct is equal, and in some respects superior, to our own, who justly pride themselves on their politeness, and who in point of honesty (in all pecuniary transactions of a private nature) are not surpassed by any people in the world.

The manifestation of this impression of the Russians was of course generally confined to the chit-chat of the coffee-houses, though occasionally we heard the soldiers saluted with numerous abusive epithets, as they passed through the streets; while the objects of them sauntered unconsciously along, confirming the Turk in his opinion of their manners, by dipping their fingers into the tallow exposed for sale, and conveying the savoury morsel to their mouths.

To the copious vocabulary of offensive terms in the Turkish language, the inhabitants added two punning ones on their victors. The word *general*, they pronounced "*ginnavar*," or "wild hog;" and *Muscovite*

they called "*mussobeit*," or "man of evil omen."

In considering the feelings of the Turks of Adrianople, that influential portion of them, the ladies, must not be omitted.

We had frequent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the state of the political female opinions, through the means of several Greek and Bulgarian ladies who used to visit Mrs. Düveluz; but mostly through the wife of the pasha's physician, who, from her husband's situation, was in constant intercourse with the principal ladies of the city.

The state of party seemed generally to depend on the age of the politicians. The old ladies, like those of other countries, generally inclined to the ancient order of things: they looked with horror on the idea of being unveiled before a Frank; while, on the other hand, the younger ones had evidently a leaning towards the new regulation, and thought there was no harm in either seeing or being seen.

Marigo, one day, brought home a remark she heard, which may shew the state of feeling of the superannuated advocates of the old

Turkish *régime*. I should premise that the *galentia* is a sort of patten, which raises the wearer half a yard from the ground, and is used by the women in the baths.

The observation was from a Turkish woman to a Greek girl. "When," said she, "the *Greeks*" (the name the Turks sometimes give the Russians) "leave this town, you women will be taken into slavery, and all your men will be put to death; as for us Turks, we have ordered high *galentias* for the occasion, as, Allah be praised! Frank blood will be flowing knee-deep in the streets of Adrianople."

That this feeling is not general amongst the Mahometan ladies, a few examples will suffice to prove, by which it will be seen that the greater portion are favourably disposed towards the infidels, who, surrounded by the pomp and trappings of war, have made sad havoc among the hearts of the fair, — a success for which they have been principally indebted to the sultan himself, who, not content with reforming the men, must needs try his hand in the dangerous and difficult task of inducing the women also to adopt our manners.

Montesquieu is of opinion that confinement of the women is one of the natural consequences of polygamy and despotic government; and absolutely necessary, not only for the preservation of domestic order, but for the general safety of the state.* Anticipating the possibility of their having the liberty of Europeans, he asks, "Where would be the father of a family who would enjoy a moment's repose? The men would be every where suspected, every where enemies; the state would be overturned, and the kingdom overflowed with rivers of blood."†

The numerous executions of women both in 1826 and 1829 shew, that in the capital these innovations have partly led to the anticipated results. Here they have only been productive of minor evils.

Some of the ladies, and those too of the highest consideration in the city, have shewn their triumph over early prejudices, and a compliance with the wishes of their sovereign, by a

* Spirit of Laws, book xvi. chap. 8.

† Ib. book xvi. chap. 9.

more decided preference of Frank manners than suits the notions of the most zealous reformer of the other sex.

Meetings between Turkish ladies and Russian officers were the common talk of the town; and a house only a few doors from the consul's was mentioned as the general place of rendezvous. Report speaks highly of the successful gallantry of a general who had lost a leg in the service, with the wife of Loman Effendy, a Turk of rank in the town. The wife of Osman, the pasha of Myssevria, told Mrs. Duveluz that the Mahometan ladies of Adrianople were very favourably disposed towards the Russians. From other quarters we heard that numbers of Turkish women had determined to quit the country with the army.

Scandal was, moreover, very busy with the fair fame of another lady of high rank, who is the daughter of Kara Achmet Aga, the former waiwoda (governor) of Adrianople, and wife to the Itraf Agassi, or commander of the suburbs. This lady, with many others, had been in the habit of visiting a sheikh much famed for sanctity, though rather too young, in the

opinion of the ladies' husbands. Guards were set to watch them: some were caught: this lady was one who escaped. Her husband has ever since withdrawn his affections from her, and transferred them to an *odalic*, or concubine. The widowed wife was for some time plunged in the deepest distress, and pined away in solitude and grief; until the appearance of the invaders before the town, when she immediately dried her tears, and has since sought and found consolation in the Russian camp.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Feelings of the Russian Army on the subject of the Peace —Its Progress after the Passage of the Balcan — Folly of the Turkish Government — The Turkish Position — Strength of the Russian Army — Its unhealthy State — Adoption of the Lance — Appearance of the Russians on Parade — Their extreme Dirt — Mortality in the Russian Army — Disgraceful State of the Medical and Commissariat Departments — Pay and Rations — Foreigners in the Russian Service — Germans.

COUNT DIEBITSCH expressed to a friend of mine,* deep regret at being obliged to give up Adrianople, because of the command it afforded him of the capital; and, as he said, from the protection it would have been to the Christian subjects of the Porte. He should, however, resign it, out of deference to the feelings of the sultan.

* This friend is Captain Gregory, a highly intelligent officer, to whom I am indebted for a considerable portion of the following remarks.

The army were to winter on the southern side of the Balcan, the ostensible motive being to see the conditions of the treaty carried into execution. A second campaign on this (Adrianople) side of the Balcan was talked of by the Russian officers as very probable, and some of them seemed willing to believe that the peace could not last.

The general feeling of the army at not being allowed to enter Constantinople was that of extreme disappointment and dissatisfaction. That the capture of the Turkish metropolis was a favourite project with the Russians, there were various indications. Several officers who died here, made a particular request, on their death-beds, to be buried on the Constantinople road. The soldiers had a favourite song, the chorus of which was, *Paidom Tchelegrad*, "Let us go to the cathedral," the name by which they designate Constantinople; and this song became so general, that it was caught up and sung by the Bulgarian children in the streets.

The field-marshal said, that he halted at Adrianople out of deference to the great powers; and he professed to be astonished at what could

induce them to interfere. The other officers were more open in their expressions. They were constantly recurring to the injustice of the continental powers in stepping in to save Turkey, when in their possession. It was imputed entirely to the Duke of Wellington, and the presence of our squadrons off the Dardanelles. They in general spoke of the moderation of their emperor, and seemed to think that his character ought to have saved him the mortification of being obliged to forego a conquest already achieved. It was asserted, that Nicolas would never have thought of keeping the Turkish provinces, having already more territory than he knew what to do with, and very few inhabitants; that he would have made Constantinople a free town, like Hamburgh, and allowed the Christians to govern themselves.

The greatest solace of the Russians seemed to be, the anticipation of the moment when England would not be so desirous, or so well prepared, to prevent their driving the Turks out of Europe.

One of the generals expressed his fear that

the brilliant success of the Russian arms this year might have a prejudicial effect on the character of the emperor, and make him anxious to try his power on a larger scale.

It is assumed by the Russians, that it required the greatest exertion and prudence on the part of the field-marshal, to prevent the Christian inhabitants from rising, and declaring against the sultan. He himself said, that although their co-operation would have been of the greatest use to him, and that it merely required a proclamation to put them in a state of revolt; yet, always anticipating the probability of having to leave them exposed to the vengeance of the sultan, he was unwilling to compromise them; and in all public notices and proclamations, he had always reminded them that they were subjects of the Porte, and exhorted them to do nothing against the allegiance they owed their sovereign. From my subsequent journey through Roumelia and Bulgaria, I am of opinion that this revolt is not suppressed, but deferred; and that though, by proclamations, the field-marshal may have urged the inhabitants to submission for the

present, yet that his agents have successfully tampered with them, and that they are only waiting till their services are required. When the Russians have evacuated Turkey, this riddle will be solved, and the sincerity of the field-marshal's professions put to the proof.

Previous to the passage of the Balcan, the Russians had no idea of the weakness of the Turkish empire. Accustomed to witness the bravery of the Mussulmans on the banks of the Danube, they believed that the country on this side of the Balcan contained similar inhabitants.

From the passage of the Kamchik, no opposition was met with, until the army reached Aidos, where it was trifling; but, trifling as it was, it is probable, that had the sultan asked for peace, the most moderate terms would have been granted, and any further advance prevented. The Russians would not then have discovered that the spirit of the inhabitants was either completely broken, or in favour of Russia; and that the country was totally destitute of defence.

From Aidos, Count Diebitsch proceeded to Selimno: had he been furnished with proper

intelligence, he would have saved himself this march, as he found there scarcely any troops to oppose him. This want of information seems to have been a great defect in the Russian army; and is extraordinary, seeing that the population of the Balcan was, for the most part, composed of Bulgarians,—men professing the same religion, and speaking the same language, as themselves.

Finding no proposition from the Porte, Count Diebitsch advanced upon Adrianople, expecting hourly to come in sight of the army of a hundred thousand men, which every one believed was to cover Adrianople and the capital.

Arrived on the heights before the town, the pasha made his submission, and brought out the keys. Diebitsch entered the city; and then, for the first time, the true state of the Turkish empire was placed beyond a doubt. Instead of the army of a hundred thousand men, which the Russians had so long been expecting to engage, they found about fifteen hundred boys of the new troops, but so young, that, as I mentioned before, the Russian commander-

in-chief desired the pasha to send them home to their mothers. That this weakness of the Ottoman dominions should have been unknown to the Russians, is singular enough; but still more singular, that the other European powers, almost equally interested in the event, should have been in such a state of ignorance as to the resources of the country and the feelings of its inhabitants.

So utterly improvident were the Turkish authorities for the exigencies of war, that there was no attempt made to put the town in a state of defence, until the Russians had advanced as far as Aidos. They then, according to their custom, ordered all the inhabitants to abandon their trades and occupations, and to work at the trenches; but they had scarcely commenced operations when the enemy entered the city. The Turkish position was very well taken up. The road by which the Russians arrived lay along the high ground, terminating in the declivity upon which the town is built. Elevated spots upon both sides of the road commanded every approach, either by the road or through the fields, upon each

side. A beautiful wood on the road to the consul's house had been destroyed, to supply the fascines of the battery.

Had the works been manned, when the Russians advanced, a fire of six batteries would have been opened upon them.

Besides these hasty entrenchments, there is no other artificial defence of the town. In a late military work, it is stated that Adrianople is surrounded by a wall.* This is not the case: it is an open town, in the military sense of the word. In the centre there is a wall that encloses a space, occupied by the rayah population, comprising what is called the Castle: it is the work of the sovereigns of the Lower Empire. It is supported by massive towers, at intervals, and might have originally formed the citadel, but is now useless as a defence. The army that crossed the Balcan consisted of forty-five thousand men, including from four to five thousand cavalry, and a hundred and twenty guns. They suffered very

* Valentini, Précis des dernières Guerres contre les Russes.

much from fatigue, having made forced marches, with sixteen days' bread on their backs at the commencement. In this manner they marched twelve hours a day in a burning sun; and, being nearly dead with thirst, ate all the fruits they could find, and drank of the nearly stagnant water of the Toonja. A dreadful sickness followed, which carried off thousands while we were at Adrianople. This was produced partly by fatigue, and partly by the unhealthy situation of their camp, under the trees of the garden of the old seraglio, at the confluence of the Arda and the Maritza. They were, soon after their arrival, joined by a reserve of about ten thousand men, not fresh battalions, but recruits to fill up the old ones.

The cavalry horses did not suffer much during the campaign, owing to the green forage having lasted till July. They were, however, nearly one half below their proper establishment, the casualties of the preceding year not having been replaced. The horses were in very good working condition, and the appointments, though rough, in good order.

The cavalry men were very sickly. Captain

Gregory told me that he had met on the march a division of hussars, and another of uhlans, in which more than one-third were led horses, the riders being in hospital, or following in waggons. The horse artillery has been reduced from the establishment of twenty-four to sixteen guns to each division of cavalry, consisting of four regiments. The whole of the cavalry, with the exception of one regiment of hussars, have been armed with lances.

All military writers on Turkey recommend the adoption of this weapon. Montecuculli, who commanded the Christian army opposed to the Porte in the year 1664, calls it the "queen of arms." The Prussian general Valentini, who served in the campaigns of 1788 and 1789, strongly recommends the use of the pike. That weapon and grape-shot were found most efficacious, in the late war, in throwing the Turks into confusion; indeed, the Turkish cavalry is more than a match for the Russian when armed only with the sabre.

The soldiers on parade were clean, and in excellent order. On seeing the daily guard

mount in Adrianople, with the bands of music and the imposing spectacle of the long feathers of the men, no one would suppose that they had undergone so much fatigue; not the most minute article of dress seemed wanting. Off parade, their whole army had a most dirty, slovenly appearance. On a march, the cavalry wore white linen coats, something like smock-frocks.

I know no people more offensive for their unclean habits than the Russians. The state of their camp was shameful. The putrid carcasses of dead horses lay about in every direction, and no one thought of removing them. As for the duties connected with the cleanliness of a camp, which devolve on our pioneers, they are by the Russians entirely dispensed with; and other senses than that of the nose are offended in passing their tents.

The mortality and sickness in the Russian army were dreadful: there were five thousand sick in the hospital when we left Adrianople; and this number, I have since heard, has increased to seven thousand. There was a ward in the hospital to which all access was

debarred: the Russians owned to a pestilential fever raging there. We imagined it to be the plague; and, as it has visited the town since we left it, it was probably that disorder with which they were then afflicted. A great portion of the deaths in hospital was to be attributed to the disgraceful state of the commissariat and medical departments. The principal general hospital was in the large new barracks, capable of holding ten thousand men. It was close to the camp, and exposed to the same air which produced the disorder. The most remarkable fact connected with the organisation of the Russian army, was the total absence of any thing like an efficient medical staff. So entirely were they without medical men, that the Russian regimental, and many of the general officers, were obliged to consult Signor Farso, the pasha's physician. This man, belonging to a class proverbially ignorant, did not know a single medicine by its proper name: he was, however, a sharp enough fellow, but hardly a proper person to be called in to a consultation of Frank military doctors, except, as in the present instance, where the persons

consulting were still worse informed than himself.

Previous to the commencement of the war, several young medical students from the different countries of Europe entered the Russian service, from which they soon withdrew in disgust, and the army was left in the destitute state of medicine to which it is now reduced. After the campaign of 1828, a convalescent hospital, on a large scale, was established at Odessa: the principal portion of the medical department was composed of Germans and Frenchmen. As their patients required it, they ordered them a more nourishing and plentiful diet than the common scanty allowance of black biscuit; but in no instance could they prevail upon the inspectors and purveyors to issue it. The consequence may be anticipated: the number of recoveries was very few, and the loss of life immense. This took place when there was the produce of upwards of two years' harvest at Odessa, which had accumulated during the unsettled state of affairs that preceded the war, and prevented its exportation. It is needless to say, that the government was

charged the same as if the issue had taken place.

The same line of conduct was pursued at Adrianople: the poor fellows were literally dying for want of medicine, food, and fuel. Notwithstanding the length of time the Russians had been at Adrianople, and had possessed every facility, being masters of the port of Enos, yet no supplies had been procured; and even to the hour of their evacuating the town, this abuse still existed. Previous to their departure, the soldiers had been repeatedly without bread: for a fortnight they had not tasted a drop of spirits or wine, though the latter beverage was less than a farthing per pint. The loss of the Russians in this campaign of 1829, from sickness alone, may be fairly rated at between 80 and 90,000 men: the Russian officers confess to 70,000. At Varna, the surgeon's list of deaths, between the 1st of January and 17th of November, 1829, amounted to 12,666; a plague had broken out there, differing from the common disorder so called in the East, but still a decided plague. Twelve general officers had died on this side the

Balcan, and seven of them within the space of three weeks.

The horses of the army, as soon as the campaign was over, shared the privations of the men, and the consequences also, as might be seen by the carcasses which lay in every direction. Some time before we left Adrianople, the country, for a circuit of several miles, had been cleared of every blade of grass; but the horses were constantly without food, although Count Diebitsch had a magazine of forage at Bourgaz, for twenty thousand horses for four months.

In our rides through the town, we constantly met waggon-loads of men discharged from hospital, on their way to join their regiments. They had more the appearance of men going into hospital than coming out of it. The stench from their bodies and clothes was perceptible the whole length of the street: every thing about them betokened the most barbarous neglect. But this is perfectly in consonance with the Russian character—an utter and brutal insensibility, on the part of those in authority, to the wants, the comforts, or even the lives, of

those in their power. Several examples of this inhuman conduct came to my knowledge during my former journey through Russia, and many more in the tour which I am now describing. The common answer of the Russian officers to our expressions of regret at the great loss they had sustained, was, "that is of no consequence; Russia does not want for soldiers."

The Russians paid for their forage by an order on the Turkish government, and a receipt; but not a farthing will ever be received by the persons who furnished it. For other supplies the want is not great: a small quantity of meat twice a-week, biscuit of the very worst and blackest description, and a little oatmeal, form the whole of the food obtained by the Russian soldier. The ration biscuit of the men looked like cow-dung, as it lay placed in large heaps to air: it seemed hardly possible for human beings to exist on such coarse food. A Prussian major attached to Count Diebitsch assured Captain Gregory, that no one but a Russian could undergo the fatigues and privations that accompany a protracted campaign in Turkey. This remark has been

often made; and, great as the Russian loss has been in their several campaigns, that of the Germans has borne a greater proportion to their numbers.

The officers were ten months in arrears, and were to be paid out of the first indemnity money that the sultan should issue. The pay of the soldier is fifty roubles a-year; not more than two pounds sterling, which is hardly sufficient to buy him tobacco.

The sufferings and losses of the Russian army, during the campaign of 1828, have not been exaggerated. Whole brigades of cavalry were *hors de combat* without having drawn a sword.

A great portion of the Russian army were foreigners, principally Germans. Count Diebitsch's chaplain told us, that they bore a proportion of nine aliens to one native. He might have meant officers only, though numbers of the men were also Germans, as we were told by Mustapha, who, with the aid of his native language, never found the least difficulty in making himself understood in his visits to the camp. It is remarkable that the field-marshals

of Russia are, except Paskevitch, all foreigners, namely, Wellington, Diebitsch, Wittginstein, and Sacken.

The Russians had no tents, except those taken from the Turks.

It was believed in the Russian camp that Count Diebitsch was to be the new king of Greece.

CHAPTER XIX.

City of Adrianople — Population — Advantageous Situation for Commerce — Land and Water Carriage — Maritza navigable — Sea-port Town of Enos — Adrianople the Depôt of Roumelia — Fairs of Roumelia — Copper Mines of Trebizond — Observations on the Greeks — Their original Subjugation — Policy of Mahomet II. — Former Influence of the Priesthood — Greeks' Activity in Commerce — Their Industry, Economy, and Intercourse with the World — Consequent Diffusion of Knowledge — Commerce of Adrianople — Imports and Exports — Policy of Mr. Adair, Ambassador to the Porte, in 1809 — Enterprise of Greek Merchants — Productions — Causes of the Decline of Commerce — Variation of Exchange — Debasement of the Currency — Its Effect on Trade — Impolitic Cruelty of the Avania — Prohibitions and Monopoly of the Turkish Government — Evils resulting therefrom — — A Simile — Montesquieu's Remarks on the Effects of Despotism — Taxes of Adrianople.

THE city of Adrianople occupies the sides and base of a low hill. When viewed from a distance, it has a beautiful and rich appearance.

It is situated at the confluence of three rivers, in one of the most fertile plains in the world; and so thickly are the trees planted among the houses, that it looks like a city built in a forest. This promise of splendour is broken the moment you enter the town. The streets are crooked, irregular, and narrow, and completely flowing with dirt. Some of the houses are three stories high: they have shelving roofs, and the eaves project so as nearly to meet those on the opposite side,—a mode of structure doubtless adopted to afford protection from the heat of the sun. The shops are only occupied during the hours of sale, the merchants always residing in their own houses. These shops describe the form of a cube, of which the front side is lifted up in the daytime, and attached to the eaves of the building; at night it is let down, and closes like a box. Across some of the streets a broad trellice-work is thrown, to which vines are trained,—and have a highly agreeable appearance.

The city contains twenty-three thousand houses, fifteen thousand of which are Turkish. The population is computed at ninety thou-

sand; of this number, forty-five thousand are Turks, thirty thousand Greeks and Bulgarians, and the remainder Armenians or Jews.

Few towns are better adapted for commerce, there being great facilities of intercourse both by land and water. To the former mode the soil of the country is peculiarly favourable, from the facility with which roads are constructed. They receive no care from the natives, but are formed by the passage of *arabahs*, a species of cart common to the country. Scarcely a peasant in Bulgaria is without one of these vehicles; and so numerous are they in Adrianople, that it is called the "city of arabahs." In the summer months, wheeled carriages are employed for the conveyance of goods; but from January to April, only horse caravans are available, which go from Adrianople through Shumla to Bucharest.

It is also equally favourable to water communication, from its position at the union of the three rivers, which run through the town, the Maritza (the ancient Hebrus), the Toonja, and the Arda. The largest of these is the Maritza, which takes its rise in the Balcan,

near Tartar Bazarjik, and disembogues into the Archipelago at Enos. Captain Gregory went along the banks of this magnificent river, the whole way from Enos. He saw for miles forests of oak and elm of a surprising size, overgrown with all sorts of luxuriant creepers, into which nothing but wild animals have ever penetrated. In other parts he observed extensive burying-grounds, and tracts of enclosed land; proofs that this country has formerly been well peopled and cultivated. The vines are now become wild, growing up and clinging with incredible luxuriance round thorns of a great size. All this, without the appearance of a human habitation, in one of the richest plains in the world, will give a very fair idea of the present state of the Turkish empire. The Maritza is navigable after the autumnal rains until the May following. At other seasons there is not sufficent water. The tonnage of the boats varies from twenty to two hundred. The larger kind make voyages to Smyrna, and to other ports. During the summer months, the sea-craft can only ascend as high as Demotica.

The sea-port town of Enos is, by nature,

most advantageously situated for commerce; but owing to the blind and stupid indifference of the Turks, a sand-bank, which increases every year, has been allowed to form at the entrance. The consequence is, that the town stands in swamps and pools of water, which not only produce the most pestilential fevers, which extend to Adrianople, but are the greatest impediments to trade. Formerly, large vessels used to enter this port; but now, even the small craft which come from Smyrna are obliged to unload below the bank.

Adrianople is the depôt of Roumelia for all goods that come to Constantinople from England, France, and Austria. From this town all the fairs are supplied. In the month of July there is one held at Philopopoli, between which and St. Sophia are several large iron founderies. The quality of the metal is infinitely superior to the iron of England, for which there is little demand here, though it finds a market at Constantinople and Smyrna. There is another grand fair at Oozan Jova. In the month of September merchants go thither from all parts of European Turkey, as far as

Trebizond, whence is brought a vast quantity of copper.

The mines in that neighbourhood were formerly the most productive in the world. The owners and contractors of them are obliged, at the risk of their lives, to furnish the sultan with copper at the same nominal price in the debased money (another abuse, which I shall mention presently). Not daring to fail in their supply, they have either been totally ruined, or have, wherever it has been practicable, let in the water and spoiled the mine, to afford an excuse that would save their heads;—an instance, among a thousand, of the progress the Ottoman emperor has made in the art of improving the resources of his country.

Besides the fairs I have mentioned, there are others held at Carnabat, Jumah, Louleh, Bourgaz, and Bourgaz on the Black Sea.

This trade extends throughout the country, bounded by Macedonia to the west, and by the Danube as far as Widdin to the north.

Before mention is made of the commerce of Adrianople, it is proposed to offer a few observations on the Greeks, to whom this city,

as well as most others in European Turkey, is principally indebted for its trade.

For nearly three centuries, this nation, oppressed by the yoke of despotism, participated in the dejection felt by the other rayahs of the Porte. Like them, they extended their commerce no farther than the boundaries of the empire, and were content to receive the manufactures of Europe through the hands of the European merchants established in the Levant. This want of enterprise arose partly from the temporal oppression of their masters the Turks, and partly from the spiritual ascendency gained over them by their own priests. This second source of subjugation was effected by the policy of Mahomet the Second, who, aware of the real cause of their weakness and fall, namely, the yoke of the priesthood, determined to cement it by issuing a *khatty sherif*, by which he invested the clergy with considerable privileges, while the only mention made of the people was directing them to pay and to serve. Hence, like the priests of nearly every country, the Greek papa worked on the superstitious fears of the people, and laboured to keep them in that state

of ignorance which should be most conducive to the conservation of his own power.

Within the last seventy years they have roused from their lethargy, and have ever since been making rapid progress in civilisation and knowledge. The Greek now began to apply himself to the study of European languages, and gradually to adopt European customs. This gave him a disposition to travel; and the advantages of a more extended commerce developed themselves to his view. He considered, that if he went himself to the places from which the European merchants derived their supplies, he could compete with them in the sale, and obtain considerable profits, even if he disposed of his goods at a price inferior to that of his rivals.

With these projects, the Greek merchant attended the fairs of Leipsic, Sinigaglia, and Beaucaire: subsequently, even the richest of this people would traverse the principal towns of Europe, living in the most sordid economy, and making extensive purchases, without employing a single agent or clerk to assist them in their labour or correspondence. In later

years they might be seen, accompanying their waggons, in their long and weary journey through Hungary and Germany, shewing as much activity in their commercial arrangements, as parsimony in their mode of living.

It was not only at Adrianople, and in the other towns of Turkey, that the enterprise of the Greeks became manifest. The example was speedily followed by the islanders of the Archipelago. Ships were built, the Mediterranean was scoured, all Europe was visited; and the small craft of the Hydriote might be seen at anchor in the principal ports of the New World.

As might be expected from such an intercourse, the genius of the people was not confined entirely to commercial speculations: the mighty influence of knowledge began to be felt. The rich and powerful Greeks of the Fanar endeavoured to diminish the influence of the clergy, in order to increase their own. They perceived that the best chance of success would be, to spread instruction among their fellow-countrymen. Schools were established in Smyrna, Salonica, and in all the principal

towns of Greece. The French and Italian languages, *belles lettres*, medicine, and the arts and sciences, were assiduously and successfully taught.*

Thus, at the end of a few short years, the humble and despised rayah returned home. In the meanwhile he had learned the means of increasing his own wealth, and consequently that of the state; but he had also become acquainted with his own strength, and his master's weakness. A tacit choice seemed given to the Turk, to receive the Greek as a profitable servant, or as a dangerous and rebellious slave. As usual, the blind Mahometan chose wrong: he has, in part, reaped the fruits of his selection, but the cup of his destiny is not yet full.

Generally speaking, manufactures form the imports, and the raw material the exports, of this city.

The consumption of imports has considerably increased since the establishment of an English factory. Formerly, the inhabitants bought what they required at Constantinople,

* Vide Jucherau, tome i.

and paid the rayah duties of custom. This unfair impost compels the commercial subject of the Porte to pay the duties at Smyrna, Constantinople, and in every province through which he passes; while the Frank merchant is only obliged to pay at the first custom-house of entry: he is there furnished with a *teshkery*, or permit, which exempts him from any further demands. The former mode rendered the goods so dear, from the arbitrary state of the prices, that there were few buyers.

The imports are the same articles as those required by the Turks at Constantinople, viz. woollens, calicoes, and printed linens. The exports are wool, cotton, silk, and otto of roses.

The wool in the neighbourhood of Adrianople is the finest in all Turkey. It is exported in its raw, and imported in its manufactured, state. Formerly, British cloths were much used; but they have been set aside by the activity of the Greek merchants, who, thinking that the cloths of Germany, though in general coarse and of a bad colour, would suit them better, on account of the lowness of their price, and the great facility of transport by

the Danube, than those of England,—they brought a great quantity into Turkey, sold them cheap, and gradually habituated the Turks to use no other. Of these, the cloths of Saxony are the best.

What we have lost in woollens, we have gained in cotton. Up to 1809, trade was very much monopolised by the Frank, and most of all by the British merchant. At that period, my cousin, Mr. Adair, who was then ambassador to the Porte, foreseeing the advantages that would accrue to both countries by the destruction of the monopoly, stipulated in the 5th article of the treaty of peace,* that Ottoman subjects should be admitted to reciprocal rights. Our commercial countrymen were at first extremely jealous at what they considered an encroachment on their privileges, and an injury to their interests; but the result has shewn that the policy was as sound as it was liberal. The same remark applies to cotton as to wool: raw, it is an article of exportation; manufactured, it is one of importation.

* Vide Appendix.

Before the treaty of 1809, trade in cotton had not even been contemplated by the British merchant, who was sufficiently occupied with other speculations. Here, again, the enterprise of the grand signior's subjects, the Greeks, was called forth: it is to them that England is indebted for this important article of commerce. These active and intelligent traders began by making purchases at Malta; and soon finding a ready sale in Turkey, they communicated direct with England, and established manufactories at Manchester and Glasgow, for printed calicoes and imitations of East India muslins. Several large fortunes were made by this branch of commerce, especially by the Greeks of Scio; and cotton has since become a staple commodity in the Levant, and one of the first consequence at Adrianople: indeed, the poverty of the country has tended rather to increase than diminish the use of cotton; for the Turk, unable now to afford the rich dresses he used to wear, is content to put up with the worst of our printed calicoes. Tanjibs (English muslins) have proved very successful. The Germans used to send muslins here;

but since ours have entered the market, theirs have been entirely withdrawn.

Adrianople is surrounded on all sides by plantations of mulberry-trees, which are cultivated to furnish food for the silkworm. This is done by cutting off the saplings every year. The silk produced is considered to be superior to any but that of Brusa, in Asia Minor: three fourths of this production are sent to England since the duties have been taken off.

There are several tanneries in the suburbs. The yellow colour is furnished by a berry called the Routchouk berry, which grows in this country. The best in quality is obtained at Crajova, in Wallachia. It was once an article of commerce with England; but would not find a sale now, except at a very low price; as the Americans have found out a bark in North America, which has proved to be a good substitute. The best berry is that called the Persian, though it grows principally in Asia Minor. The red is produced from cochineal, or from a small insect collected from the leaves of a prickly species of oak common in the Levant.

Commerce here, as well as throughout Turkey, has long been on the decline: recent events have accelerated its ruin. I shall mention a few of the most obvious causes.

First, the constant variation of the exchange.

In the eighteenth century, the Turkish piastre was considered nearly equal to five franks, (4*s.* 2*d.* English), or about 5 to the pound sterling: since that time the exchange has constantly risen. In 1808, it was at 15; three years ago, it rose to 50; and when I left Adrianople, it was as high as 73. The exchange would frequently vary two or three per cent in the three days which intervene between the departure of the couriers for Europe.

While the exchange was undergoing this unnatural change, the currency itself was becoming more debased every year.

The mint is farmed from the government, on the terms of paying, daily, a certain sum into the treasury. For three centuries, the debasement of the coin has been resorted to, as a branch of revenue, by the Ottoman sultans.

When Kieuperli was vizier, he coined money of an inferior quality, and gave it a higher value in circulation. By this means he relieved the government from its immediate embarrassments, but introduced so much confusion into commerce, that the people and soldiery were driven to rebellion. The profits of the government were momentary and delusive; the ministers amassed wealth, and the subjects were ruined.

Baron de Tott, speaking of the debasement of money (and it it worse now), says, that forgers were rather beneficial than otherwise, as their coin contained less alloy than the currency of the empire.

This pernicious system continues in full force. Sultan Selim, weighed down by the heavy expenses of the three wars in which he had been engaged, was obliged to resort to the same method of producing temporary relief, though with the certainty of future ruin.

By this means, the revenues of Turkey are not only anticipated, but must eventually be completely destroyed.

In a country governed by almost invariable laws, and by a system of administration founded on ancient customs, where the laying on a new tax is always productive of a reaction dangerous to the sovereign, it is quite obvious that the contributions of the empire can never keep pace with the depreciation of its coin.

The result is, that although the government derives the same nominal revenue from the old imposts, and only issues the pay of the troops and the salaries of public officers at the former rate; nevertheless, the products of the taxes are reduced to nearly one half of their real value, because the expenses of the army, the necessary purchases of government, and also artisans' wages, must be affected by the successive variations of the intrinsic value of the current money.

It need hardly be added, that commerce must come in for her share of the evils of this system. Under such circumstances, what merchant will venture to give long credit? and, from the uncertainty of advantage, what speculator will undertake any extensive enterprise?

Another evil highly injurious to commerce is the *avania,* an unjust prosecution in a court of law; a mode of extortion constantly resorted to by the Turks.

A Mahometan institutes a vexatious suit against a rayah, in which he risks nothing, and may eventually avail himself of all the uncertainty of the law; the least that can happen to the defendant will be the payment of costs; so that he generally feels it best to compound the business, and the great object of the prosecutor is accomplished. The testimony of a Turk outweighs the clearest proof a rayah can adduce. The penalty of perjury in the infidel is severe, if not capital; but the true believer is only admonished to be less confused in his statements for the future.*

From the fear of this and similar impositions, the Christian possessor of money, instead of employing it in commerce, is induced to hide it, lest it should attract the avarice of his

* Memoirs of Baron de Tott; Thornton's Turkey (vol. ii. p. 37, *note*), vol. i. p. 203; Jucherau, tome i. p. 120.

oppressors; so that money remains in disuse, and the owner of it lives as a pauper.

From Smyrna, fruits are allowed to be exported; but at Adrianople there is a prohibition on the exportation of every sort of provision: thus, many articles of trade, and some of them useless to themselves, are lost to the Turks.

Of these may be enumerated, the hides and tallow of the black cattle, which abound in this country; the abundance of rice which is grown here; the vast variety of fruits, that might vie with those of Smyrna (amongst which are some grapes that make an excellent red wine): the corn of Roumelia, too, is equal to that at Taganrog, whence European supplies are usually drawn. The cultivator of this latter article is obliged to sell the surplus, at an arbitrary price, to the government agents.

The object of the prohibition is to enable the sultan to have corn at a cheap rate, that he may sell it again at a maximum price. It might be supposed that these restrictions, though highly injurious to agriculture, would contribute much to the momentary supplies of wealth to the Porte; but if we examine the

mode in which the monopoly is conducted, we shall find that a very small proportion enters the public treasury.

The collector, called the *istarajee*, pays the proprietor an arbitrary price for his corn, which he sends by sea to Constantinople, and there lodges in the public granaries. As the grain so collected, is considered a store for times of scarcity, it is seldom sold until it is damaged, unless a very extraordinary profit can be made. The istarajee takes care to have full measure, and equal care that it shall suffer a great diminution before it reaches the government storehouse. By virtue of his office, he is entitled to purchase a tenth of the whole collected, at the same rate as the government: this he immediately sells at a very high price, and generally makes three hundred per cent. These are considered fair gains. Among his other modes of emolument are, the extortion of money from the farmer, by arbitrary exactions, and the forcing him to take his contribution to the sea-side. Besides his own tenth, the istarajee generally sells a tenth or fifteenth of the public store, and substitutes in its stead, rye, barley, and some-

times chaff. The remainder of the corn he swells by sea-water, or by the vapour of boiling vinegar, to conceal his fraud. The corn so extorted from the provinces is placed in the care of the istambol effendy, an ulema of high rank: his deputy keeps a register of the supplies received, and distributes to the baker such quantities, and on such terms, as he pleases.

"A government," says Montesquieu, "cannot be unjust without having hands to exercise its injustice. Now it is impossible but that these hands will be grasping for themselves. The *embezzling of the public treasure* is therefore natural in despotic states."*

This remark is capable of illustration in every department of the Turkish empire. For the momentary acquisition of wealth, the resources of the country are drained,—a circumstance which exemplifies a simile from the same author, who compares the conduct of despotic governors to "some savages of Louisiana, who cut down the trees to get at the fruit."†

If the prohibition were taken off at Adrian-

* Spirit of Laws. † Ibid.

ople, and the sand-bank from Enos removed, vessels might ship supplies at the latter place, without encountering the obstacles to which the other voyage is subject. Enos is in the same parallel of longitude with the mouth of the Dardanelles, in which channel, ships are frequently obliged to wait several weeks before they can get a southerly wind to stem the current. Then, again, the straits are so shallow in many parts, that vessels are constantly running aground. Once through the gulf, they have to encounter dangers and difficulties so great, that "a ship in the Black Sea," is proverbially considered (next to a house in Constantinople) the most insecure of all property. Between the months of October and March, there is very little navigation, scarcely any but English ship-masters having the boldness to venture there during the winter season.* From all these objections the port of Enos is free.

* Mr. Thornton, speaking of a passage he made in a Greek vessel in the Black Sea, says, "They had undertaken the voyage with some unwillingness; as the Black Sea, during the winter, is much more stormy than the Propontis and Archipelago. From Eneada to the capes of the Bosphorus,

In fine, by the removal of the sand-bank at Enos; by not allowing the dams in the Maritza to impede the navigation; by permitting the export of superfluous provisions, and such articles as are not used by the inhabitants; by foregoing the monopoly of corn; and by giving protection to agriculture, Adrianople, instead of being poor and depopulated, might be thriving and well peopled. But this would be to suppose an order of things incompatible with a government constituted as that of Turkey is.

Montesquieu, speaking of the effects of despotism on agriculture, draws a very correct picture of the actual state of this empire. "Of all despotic governments," he observes, "there is none that labours more under its

there is no harbour; so that many of the boats of those who dare to navigate during the five winter months, are dashed by the N.N.E. and N.N.W. winds against the rocks and sands of the southern coast. Their vessels are of the kind called saïques, which are so constructed as not to be able to keep the sea when the wind is strong; and they are obliged to bear away right before the wind, and run for a harbour."—THORNTON'S *Turkey*, vol. i. p. 79.

own weight than that wherein the prince (as is the case with the sultan) declares himself the proprietor of all the lands, and heir of all his subjects; and if he intermeddles likewise with trade, all manner of industry is destroyed. Under this sort of government, nothing is repaired or improved: houses are built only for the necessity of habitation; every thing is drawn from, but nothing restored to, the earth; the land lies untilled, and the whole country becomes a desert."*

In mentioning the taxes of Adrianople, their real weight can hardly be appreciated without a knowledge of the extreme poverty of the inhabitants; the exactions of the government having risen in equal proportion to the inability of the people to comply with them.

The population, consisting of ninety thousand persons, is called upon to pay the *virkee*, or regular tax, amounting to 200,000 piastres.† Of this, two-thirds are defrayed by the Greeks,

* Spirit of Laws, book v. chap. 14.

† At the period of which I write (October 1829), the piastre was worth about three-pence halfpenny English.

and the remainder by the Armenians and Jews.

Of the *galoonjee bedeli*, or war tax, which amounts to 140,000 piastres, the Greeks pay 100,000. This tax is due every six months, but is frequently levied before the time.

The last is the *kharatch*, or capitation tax. This is laid upon the rayah part of the community, and was first established by the Koran, which permitted infidels to exercise the functions of their religion on payment of a tribute. It is supposed that the principal object of the severe laws relative to the dress of the rayahs, was in order to enable the collectors of the kharatch to distinguish them from the Mussulmans. Women, children under fourteen years of age, and infirm beggars, are the only persons exempt from this tax.

The kharatch is grievous in its effect, from the unequal manner in which it presses on the inhabitants; there being but a slight distinction in the impost on the rich and the poor man. It is divided into three classes: the first comprises the better sort of householders; the second, persons of middling property; and

the third, the poorest class. I could not, however, obtain a clear definition of their respective distinctions.

Mr. Thornton,* who wrote in 1808, says, that "the heaviest contribution does not exceed thirteen piastres a-year, the lightest is four piastres;" but by referring to the impost of later years, we shall find how very much it has increased since the period of which he spoke.

In 1820, (that is, immediately before the Greek revolution), the first class paid twenty-eight piastres: the second, fourteen; the third, seven.

In 1828, the first paid forty; the second, twenty-eight; the third, eighteen.

In the present year (1829), the first paid fifty: the second, forty; the third, twenty-five.

Since the destruction of the janizaries, the Turk, who till that time had been exempted from taxes, has paid a part; but so great an invasion of his privileges causes the govern-

* Thornton's Turkey, vol. i. p. 16.

ment to proceed with caution in its levies: they are, consequently, very irregular and undefined.

A considerable portion of the taxes is farmed, and the hire of them is disposed of by public auction, at Constantinople. The bidders are the grandees of the empire, with whom no one dares to compete. The leases are resold to subaltern agents, who have also to derive their emolument from the produce of the soil. Thus, the nation pays double the amount of what the government receives.

The manner in which the taxes are raised is this:—the order comes to the pasha, and he sends it to the respective authorities of the three branches of the rayah population, namely, the Greeks and Bulgarians, (who, professing the same religion, are classed as one people,) the Armenians, and the Jews.

These three classes have each a commune, consisting of four persons, who, knowing the numbers of their respective sects, divide the payment between them. The *cooljee*, or tax-gatherer, who is a Turk, goes round to collect the imposts, attended by the officer appointed

by the commune, and by a body of Mahometans, to enforce the levy, if necessary. This cooljee receives for his pains one para in each piastre, which is exclusive of the original tax.

CHAPTER XX.

Preparations for Departure — Our Equipage — Our kind Hosts — We leave Adrianople — Dead Cattle on the Road — Russian Graves — Deserted Village — Russian Quarter-Master — Mustapha's Generalship — Buyuk Derbent — Kutchuck Derbent — Breakfast — Incessant Rain — Papasli — Wretched Quarters.

November 1. We had intended to have left Adrianople two days ago, but were deterred by an unremitting storm of rain, which, in the delicate state of my health, I thought it not prudent to brave.

The Russians were about to celebrate the ratification of peace with some splendid fire-works, and the firework-makers (a regular corps) had been for a length of time busied in the preparations. We were much pressed to delay our journey, in order to be present at the show; but we declined the invitation, to the astonishment of the Russians at our want of taste and curiosity.

Moreover, Lord Dunlo was anxious to rejoin the ambassador; and we felt that, though without a remedy, we had made an unconscionably long visit; not long enough, however, to have outstaid our welcome; for such was the hospitality of our kind and amiable hosts, that we should have found this a difficult matter.

The advance of the Russians had frightened away the greater portion of the inhabitants from the several villages through which we were to pass; and the demand for horses for the service of the army was so great, that we had little chance of finding assistance from the post-houses.

Thus situated, we engaged horses at Adrianople for the whole distance. Our bargain was with an Armenian, who agreed to furnish us with five horses, which were to take us to Shumla, and to remain there for two days free of charge, and for every day additional the beasts were to be kept at our expense.

From Shumla we intended to continue our journey to Louleh Bourgaz; and then, if satisfied with our agreement, we were to take

them on to Constantinople. The whole expense, according to this agreement, was six hundred and fifty piastres, equal to about ten pounds sterling.

As our journey was undertaken at nearly the worst season of the year, we made some additions to our former equipment. Besides our abba cloaks, we had our coats lined with fur; we wore large fisherman-looking boots, coming up to the knee, and *kaulchins*, or tartar stockings. These are made of coarse white wool, and resemble in shape the boots of the cavaliers in the time of the Stuarts. They are worn above the trousers and other stockings, and are turned down over the boots, displaying some fanciful pattern of flowers, worked in worsted of different colours. We were further provided with a good Witney blanket each; and thus accoutred we sallied forth, prepared to encounter the keen air of the Balcan.

Throughout the night preceding our departure, the storm seemed rather to have increased than diminished; but it was too violent to last long. At dawn of day it relaxed its threat-

ening aspect, and the sun smiled upon us as we jumped into our saddles.

It was with deep regret that we bade adieu to the amiable couple under whose roof we had been so kindly entertained. I will not intrude upon my readers the feelings produced by such a reception as we experienced. By the traveller in a civilised land, who receives hospitality in the common interchange of politeness, they cannot be justly appreciated; it is only by the wanderer in a barbarous region, where his habits and religion draw upon him the hatred and contempt of the inhabitants, that the friendly welcome from a native of his country, and a professor of his creed, can be rightly understood.

Our hosts and their servants assembled in the court-yard to see us depart: amongst the party was the amiable and innocent Marigo, the brightness of whose eyes were further heightened by the tears which started in them as we bade her farewell.

Quitting the town, we entered the high road to Shumla, and proceeded along the banks of the Toonja, leaving on our left the noble

forest of trees which encompasses the seraglio. Their appearance was beautiful, the few days' previous frost having variegated their foliage with the bright tints of autumn. The scene was enlivened by the animating bustle of the troops, who, in tents taken from the Turks in the late campaign, were reclining under the shade of the trees which adorn the former imperial residence of this once mighty nation.

Our road lay directly to the north, between the camp and the high ground, which, approaching the town from the north and north-east, terminates in the slope upon which the town is built: there is a similar point of land on the opposite side of the Toonja.

We had hardly gone half a mile when we saw a dead horse, with a number of mangy dogs reposing in its inside, waiting till their glutted appetites should again sharpen, and cordially uniting to keep away every other of their species not belonging to their dainty coterie. They looked very fiercely at our poor beasts, and seemed to think that they were fast approaching to that state when they would be theirs as a matter of right. As we pro-

ceeded, we found the whole road strewed with the carcasses of horses, bullocks, buffaloes, and camels, all of them worked to death in the transportation of forage for the troop horses at head-quarters. It was at the ascent of the hills that we always observed the greater number of these unfortunate animals. We passed, in the course of the day, several kibitkas laden with hay, to many of which were attached cattle, some dying, and nearly all so worn out with fatigue, as to appear almost insensible to the unceasing lash of the Cossack driver.

Occasionally we came to a newly filled grave, where one vertical and two horizontal sticks, in the form of the Russian cross, bespoke the nation of the deceased.

The country, similar to that on the opposite side of Adrianople, is so open that the largest army might march in line. Our road lay through plains divided by a succession of gradually sloping hills. From the immediate neighbourhood of the town, they are quite uncultivated. The rank grass, which constituted the food of the Turkish cattle, had been closely mowed by the Russians, to prevent the

Ottoman army from coming to Adrianople with any considerable body of cavalry. We passed a party of Russian infantry, marching towards the same village as ourselves.

At four hours' distance from Adrianople we came to the village of Aụkvar, once containing a population of Turks and Bulgarians; now, most of the houses are in ruins, and they all appear to be deserted.

We observed at the outskirts of this village, several large mounds, resembling ancient tumuli or barrows. Such marks in this country are, generally, indications of a Turkish camp: on these eminences they fix their standards and the horsetails of the pashas: here, in 1828, was the encampment of the Turkish army, commanded by the grand vizier. The mounds have besides a more useful property: they are employed, in the time of the deep snows, as beacons, to indicate to the traveller the neighbourhood of a village. For this purpose, the Turks place a guard on them during the winter months.

We were joined, at a short distance from our halting-place, by a Russian officer, whom

we discovered to be the quarter-master of the detachment we had seen on the road. The moment he reached us he addressed us in his own language with the most overwhelming volubility. In vain we exhausted our small stock of Russ to acquaint him that we did not understand him; the notice only increased his loquacity. He appeared to think every European spoke the same language. We had nothing left for it but to answer him in English; and thus we went gabbling together to the end of the stage.

Six hours from Adrianople, we reached the village of Ienijee, where we halted for the night. Our first prospects were bad enough, nearly all the village having been destroyed. In one of the few houses which retained a roof, there was a dead horse in a putrid state, and another outside of it; but even if we had desired to take up our quarters there, it was impossible, as it was already in the occupation of a party of Russians, whose olfactory nerves appeared insensible to the effluvia of a rotten carcass.

This was not the only unpromising circumstance: our chattering fellow-traveller had

been sent forward to procure quarters for nearly two hundred men; and immediately on dismounting, he set out on this duty, accompanied by all the Bulgarians of the place. Mustapha, at the same time, sallied forth in quest of a lodging for us: he proved the better quarter-master of the two, for he obtained us admission to the house of the kiahya (chief man) of the village, who gladly accepted us as guests who would pay, to guarantee him from others who were not likely to do so. We occupied the apartment of the women, whom he turned out to accommodate us. As a further proof of Mustapha's generalship, he divested me of my uniform coat and epaulettes, and fixed them on a peg near the door, expecting that it would receive the same reverence from Christian soldiers as his own holy standard would from true believers. He was right: several Russians attempted to make a lodgement in our house, but the insignia of military rank were no sooner beheld, than the invaders successively raised the siege.

November 2. We resumed our march at daylight, and entered a very wild country

covered with dwarf oak, with here and there some well-grown trees. At three hours' distance, we reached the Buyuk Derbent, "the great pass," or defile, from which the village derives its name. The village is very pretty. It lies in a hollow between two hills, and the houses are completely imbedded in trees, principally evergreens. It contains a mixed population of Turks and Bulgarians. We saw here some Russian troops, with a brigade of artillery.

Hence onwards the country improves in beauty, though not in cultivation: the hills are richly covered with trees, and the road is occasionally over a stratum of sand-stone rock.

Three hours further, we came to the village of the Kutchuck Derbent, "the small pass." The word *derbent*, literally "closed gate," is generally applied to what the Turks consider a defile; but neither of these derbents deserves that character. If considered in a military point of view, the only obstruction to troops would be the forest of trees, through which a road might very speedily be made: besides, there is one principal and several other parallel

roads, which completely do away with the character of a defile.

At Kutchuck Derbent, Mustapha took us to a Bulgarian wine-house, where, with some grease, onions, and eggs, he made a sort of omelet. We relished it highly; though it would have been unpalatable enough but for the aid of hunger sauce.

The wine here was execrable: we warn travellers from indulgence in this beverage in Roumelia and Bulgaria. It is generally new, and is productive of the most distressing consequences, as we all, from woful experience, ascertained in our turn.

The rain, which we had sanguinely hoped had taken leave of us, overtook us at Buyuk Derbent, and forced itself on our company in the most obtrusive manner, not ceasing to annoy us for one minute during the day. In this manner, drenched as though we had swam the distance, we reached the village of Papasli, where the first unwelcome object that met our view was a party of Russians, in possession of the best quarters.

Papasli is prettily situated in a valley,

through which runs a small river: some months since it was populous; it is now reduced to a few wretched hovels. It was plundered and destroyed by the Turks, to save the Russians the trouble.

The villages we have seen are all of the most barbarous appearance. The huts seem built wherever chance directs, without any regard to order. They are separated from one another, and around each is a public thoroughfare. In general, they are constructed of bricks dried in the sun, and have a thatched roof. The poorer kind of habitations consist of a few poles, about ten or eleven feet high, meeting at the top, and from three to six feet apart at bottom. Over these are fastened, as a thatch, branches of oak.

In looking out for a resting-place, our eyes were directed towards the roofs of the houses: we fixed upon one apparently more weather-tight than the rest. It belonged to a Bulgarian, and we succeeded in obtaining admission, after having stood half an hour before the door, in patient endurance of the pitiless storm.

Until midnight, it was one continued downpour. It then ceased, and was succeeded by a heavy fall of snow, which penetrated every part of our newly-thatched roof, and occupied us the remainder of the night in the unavailing search of a dry spot in the apartment.

CHAPTER XXI.

We leave Papasli — State of the Roads — Character of Roumelian Scenery — Ianboli — Russian Pickêt — First Appearance of the Balcan — Selimno — Its weekly Fairs — Trade — Manufactures — Public Khans — Decrease of Population — Mosques — Russian Attack on Selimno — It surrenders without Opposition — General Montresor — Ascent of the Balcan — Soil of the Mountain — Its Adaptation to Road-making — The slight Obstacles to an opposing Army — Numerous Roads — Vedgerah — The Bulgarian Peasantry all armed — Cloth Mills — Party of Cossacks — Russian Theft — Disposition of the People of the Balcan in favour of the Invasion.

November 3. We left Papasli at half-past eight in the morning, chilly and uncomfortable, from being obliged to resume our wet clothes. Luckily for us, the wind came suddenly round from the northward, and we had a fine bracing breeze in exchange for the miserable weather of yesterday.

The road leads over a country covered with brushwood, consisting of an open plain, with

the occasional intervention of a gradually sloping hill.

An hour from Papasli, on the left hand, is a small village. We now descended into a large plain, which extends to the Balcan. In the middle of this, a wolf skulked across my path. I followed him to some little distance, and observed him make a dead halt on the outskirts of a flock of sheep.

We now came to a thick tenacious soil, which the late rains had rendered heavy for carriages, and filled with large holes. I had reason to congratulate myself on not having followed my first intention of hiring a wheeled conveyance for this journey. We passed, however, a Russian courier, in a kibitka, drawn by three horses, which, notwithstanding the state of the soil, managed to keep up a brisk trot.

By fragile platforms of rotten planks, transversely placed, we crossed several streams tributary to the Toonja. Two hours from Papasli, we came in sight of the Toonja: it was about five miles distant. Its course is marked by a continuous forest of well-grown trees, which

cover the base of a long hill, forming the boundary of the plain to the west.

The general characteristic of Roumelian scenery appears to be, that the courses of rivers are marked by the tall and well-grown trees which grow on their banks; while in the unwatered plains, and upon the hills, the wood is always stunted. This defect in their growth arises probably from want of moisture during the summer season. In five hours and a half, we saw to the left *Fundookli kieu*, or Hazlenut village, a long straggling place, on the banks of the river.

Half an hour further on, we halted for a few minutes at a village on the brow of a hill. It was completely deserted by its inhabitants: a Russian sutler, and a couple of soldiers, were the only persons we saw there.

At four in the afternoon, we entered Ianboli. This is a large, and has been a populous town. The inhabitants were Turks and Bulgarians, and there was rather a preponderating number of the former nation; but now the whole Turkish population had fled, nearly every shop in the town was closed, and

the few that were open, were kept by Bulgarians. The mosques had been converted into magazines for provisioning the Russian army.

This place, in common with most others where the Russians had been, was very sickly. We saw here a Russian funeral: the coffin was without a lid, and was composed of a few planks, rudely nailed together. It was borne by four men, and was preceded by a Bulgarian priest, scattering incense. We followed the body to the burying-ground, where the numerous recent graves bespoke the general mortality.

Ianboli is situated in a fruitful plain, on the banks of the river Toonja, which is here winding, large, and rapid. We saw only two wooden bridges, but there may be more. In the centre of the town is a large clock,—a very unusual sight in Turkey.

We were lodged in the public khan, where we felt ourselves happy in the possession of a clean earthen floor to lie upon for the night. In more prosperous days, the khan was full of merchants, trading between Bulgaria and

Roumelia; but now we had the place to ourselves.

November 4. The day opened with a hard frost, and then suddenly the weather became cloudy. We here crossed, and took leave of the Toonja. On the opposite bank, at an angle formed by the winding of the river, was a Russian outlying picket, with two field-pieces so placed as to command a bridge over which we afterwards passed, as well as to sweep the plain by which it is approached.

The road, throughout this day's march, was excellent. The plain was quite open for two hours, and then there was a slight ascent. The country is covered with dwarf oak and ash. In two hours and a half, we crossed a stream by a bridge, that had been either newly repaired or built afresh: it was guarded by a party of Cossacks. We saw to the right the small village of Ienikieu: the wood here, and throughout the Balcan, reminded me strongly of EppingForest. We began a gentle and uniform ascent, and then entered a forest of well-grown trees: emerging from it, we entered a plain of great extent.

We here came in sight of the Balcan,

forming the northern boundary of the plain. We saw it to peculiar advantage, owing to a partial fall of snow. The tops of the hills, as well as the valley beneath, were enveloped in clouds; and the interval was frosted over with snow, which gave an appearance of great height. Had I then turned back, I should have been fully impressed with the difficulties an army would encounter in passing this celebrated range of hills. At the foot of the ridge are seven detached hills, of a semi-globular shape, which are covered with vineyards, and appear like islands in the ocean. Embosomed in these, we discovered the minarets of the highly picturesque town of Selimno. We crossed several small subsidiary streams, and continued for some time along the dry bed of the river, which here dwindles into a mountain torrent.

After traversing, for the last three days, what might be termed a desert, it was agreeable to see something of life and activity. The plain was full of peasants, tending their flocks, or cutting wood; and numerous arabahs were passing to and from the town.

We found a very good khan, where we occupied a small boarded room, next door to some Bulgarian merchants, who had been attracted thither by the weekly fairs which take place at Selimno, for the sale of a thick, coarse, brown cloth, and of the Tartar woollen stockings; the one article the production of the black, the other of the white sheep of the country. These manufactures, as well as sheep and cattle, are exchanged for such articles as the maritime towns and lowlands of Roumelia can produce. Wine is a staple produce of this place: we tasted some very good, of this year's vintage.

The khans in the town are numerous: each of them has a large stable for the caravans. On two sides of the court-yard there is generally a gallery, with several small rooms opening into it. Underneath are magazines for merchandise.

The population till lately consisted of three thousand Turkish, and two thousand Bulgarian families. Now, seven out of eight shops are closed, and their inhabitants have fled. In our stroll through the town we scarcely saw a single

Turk. We entered two mosques in the course of our walk: in one we found the pavements torn up, the ornaments destroyed, the windows broken, the burying-ground uprooted, and the tombstones demolished: in the other so much active violence had not been committed; but in the interior were heaps of filth of every description. We inquired of our khanjee, or innkeeper, a Bulgarian, about this. He laid it to the Arnaouts; but it is more probably the work of the Bulgarians themselves, who have most likely taken advantage of their Mahometan neighbours' absence, to gratify many an ancient grudge.

Our khanjee told us, that previous to the occupation of the town, the Russians had sustained a defeat at Ianboli; but being reinforced, they had occupied that town. They then advanced against Selimno, and entered without opposition. As a matter of form, two shells were discharged from the Russian batteries, when the pasha who commanded, immediately surrendered the town, and retreated towards Eski Saghra.

Selimno at this time contained a Russian

division; it subsequently became the head-quarters of the army. The garrison was commanded by General Montresor, to whom our friend General Reuchtern had given us a letter of introduction. Fearful of detention, we sent our letter by Mustapha, with proper apologies for not being ourselves the bearers.

The general was indisposed, and being unable to visit us himself, he sent his aide-de-camp, a Russian prince, whom we had known at Adrianople, to beg we would drink tea with him; he also desired to furnish us with a better quarter than that we occupied, and proposed sending a party of Cossacks to escort us across the Balcan. Mustapha was anxious that we should accept this reinforcement; but as we heard there was no danger, we declined the civil proposal.

We encountered in our walk a convoy of two hundred camels from the Crimea, driven by the scarcely human-looking natives of that country. They brought stores for the Russian army.

November 5. The day was just dawning when we again mounted our horses, and left

Selimno in a north-easterly direction, skirting the mountains over some small abrupt hills richly cultivated, principally with the vine.

The sun meanwhile rose with peculiar majesty, and for some time threw a tint of deep red upon the mountains, similar to the painted representations of the effect produced on the surrounding scenery by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius.

After a ride of three miles, we entered upon our left a mountain gorge: the Balcan here runs north-east and south-west. We went N.N.E. for three miles, and then N.N.W. and N.N.E. alternately, until we arrived at the top. We traversed its side, which was covered with vineyards from the summit to the base. The road, which was paved at the commencement of the ascent, was in good order, and broad enough in the narrowest part to allow two carriages to pass; it is practicable for artillery, and indeed for every description of wheeled conveyance. The soil of the country, of which the road is made, is sandstone, which, containing a proportion of common clay, quickly forms, when broken into

pieces, a compact substance, admirably adapted for the purpose.

It is impervious to damp; for it was neither affected by the rain of the four or five preceding days, nor by the fall of snow, which was melting at the time. It is easily repairable, the soil itself forming the materials. With so much facility is this road constructed, that any arabah actually makes its own by the track of its wheel. This remark is generally applicable, not only to the Balcan, but to those parts of Roumelia and Bulgaria which we traversed. Hence it is evident, that should an army wish to pass the Selimno Balcan, it has nothing to do but to cut away the brushwood, draw it to one side, and the baggage and battering trains form the road. This was the case in that part of the Balcan over which the Russian army advanced: they cut down a few trees, and filled up the inequalities of the ground. The number of carriages that accompanied the army, is a proof how trifling were the difficulties they had to encounter. Almost every field officer had his *calèche*, the general

officers three or four, and every company a cart for their camp-kettles.

On arriving at the summit of the mountain, we continued along the side of a hill, and began gradually to descend. We met seven arabahs, drawn by bullocks, on their road to Selmino. We were going on exceedingly well, when Mustapha must needs try a short cut; and leading us, baggage and all, down the steepest part of the hill, we made a dangerously rapid journey to the bottom. Here we came to a beautiful valley, watered by a rivulet, which we crossed, and then entered upon a broad road that skirted the stream. Mustapha declared it to be the same as that we had quitted; but this we felt to be impossible, as we had left ours to the right, and the track we now came upon was exactly from the contrary direction. Taking that which we thought the most likely, we continued marching for about two miles, when a new embarrassment annoyed us: the road here diverged into two others, both equally good, and both apparently leading to our destination,—one along the plain,

the other over the hills. A water-mill, the proof of a neighbouring village, induced us to take the lower, and, as we have since discovered, the longest route.

The various roads we here saw first staggered our belief as to the difficulty of the passage of the Balcan. I have been particular in the detail, because the number of roads, and the facility of their construction, bear very much on the question of the practicability of the mountain.

A mile further on brought us to the Bulgarian village of Vedgerah, where we stopped to breakfast. The appearance of the village is remarkably neat; the houses are very clean, and each habitation is surrounded by a high wicker-work fence, like the fascines of a battery, plastered over, to protect their poultry from the depredations of wolves and other wild animals, which abound here. The peasantry, men and women, seem comfortable and industrious.

We were surprised to find all the male inhabitants, from the old man to the child of ten years of age, with weapons in their girdles,

because, by the Turkish law, no rayah is allowed to bear arms. We found, on inquiry, that the Russians, on the plea of enabling the Bulgarians to defend themselves against the Turks, had allowed the whole peasantry to go armed, having first made a register of all who obtained this privilege, and taken a receipt from them, together with a security, that the weapons should be returned when required, or that the receivers should enter the Russian service. Some had declined the offer, from a fear of the probable consequences, when left exposed to the vengeance of the Turkish government. This, then, is the available force of four thousand Bulgarians, respecting which the Russians threw out some hints at Adrianople.

The road from Vedgerah to Cazan leads along a broad and winding valley, watered by a rivulet lined with trees. The stream is very shallow, and has a pebbly bottom; we crossed it several times in the course of the day.

Two hours before we came to Cazan, we passed through the picturesque village of Radeech, containing a population of about eighty Bulgarian families. Three miles from the town

we met several Bulgarians on horseback. They had each a brace of pistols, a dagger in their girdles, and a firelock slung at their backs. Seeing my epaulettes, they mistook me for a Russian officer, and immediately uncovered as I passed, and addressed me very respectfully in Russ.

The last part of the day's march was between two steep mountains. In the valley below, runs a mountain torrent, which turns several mills.

These machines are chiefly employed in preparing the coarse brown woollen cloths, of which the abba cloaks are made. The town of Cazan forms one long street, on the ascent of a mountain. It contains about a thousand houses, principally Bulgarian, and exports a considerable quantity of the cloths to which I have above alluded.

There was in this town a small party of Cossacks, commanded by a lieutenant, who came, according to the military etiquette of Russia, to wait upon me as his superior officer. His interpreter was a Bulgarian, a native of the town. The language of the country is

Sclavonic, which is perfectly understood by all classes of Russians.*

In the evening we had a long conversation with the master of the khan. He complained bitterly of the thefts and pillage of the Russians, who always professed great anxiety to redress such grievances, but threw every impediment in the way of their investigation, always contriving to fail in the detection of the depredator. In spite of this, his countrymen were highly elated at the advance of the invaders, were quite ripe for revolt, and were only waiting for a convenient opportunity to throw off the Turkish yoke. He told us, that, for his own part, he had followed the advice of his old father, who had dissuaded him from shewing any demonstrations of joy on the occasion, as the Russians were but temporary

* "The Sclavonian language (or the Illyric) is spoken at this day, over a greater extent of country than any other living language; for, exclusively of many countries of Asia, it prevails in Dalmatia, Croatia, Epirus or Albania, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Russia, Poland, Bohemia, and Silesia. It has no affinity with the Turkish or Hungarian."—THORNTON'S *Turkey*, vol. i. p. 61.

visiters, and that the grand signior would not fail to take signal vengeance on the disaffected, whenever the country should be vacated by the foreign troops. Our landlord was further of opinion, that the greater part of the Bulgarian population would return to Russia with the army.

The affairs of the Bulgarians are referred, in each village, to a junta of old men, who may be considered, in the absence of the Turkish authorities, as a sort of provisional government for the time being.

CHAPTER XXII.

Leave Cazan — Roads easily repairable — Chutakh — Bulgarians — Their Employments — Property — Dress — Marriage — Divorce — Derbent — Turkish Inhospitality — Unpleasant Prospect — Anecdote of Mustapha — A Tax-gatherer — A Turk assassinated — Mahometan Disaffection — Mountain Gorge — Juma — Country fertile, but depopulated — Villages rased to the Ground — Ascent to the Heights above Shumla — Turks at Drill — Search for a Host — A renegade Doctor — Miserable Lodgings — Mr. Haggermann — Turkish Execution — Indifference of the Bystanders — Observations on the Culprit — Agreeable Termination of our Adventures.

November 6. BEFORE we set off, we were again visited by the lieutenant in charge of the party, who sent a Cossack to escort us beyond the last picket, which, at about a mile from Cazan, occupied a pass commanding the approach towards the town from the north. Here, an insignificant field work, pierced for three or four guns, had been thrown up by Suleiman Pasha. It was a tolerably strong position, but assailable from several points.

Thence we emerged into a country hilly rather than mountainous; bearing some resemblance to Devonshire. In general, where the hills are not covered with wood, there is considerable cultivation; flocks and herds are to be seen at pasture; the villages, too, are very neat and clean in their appearance.

In three hours' journey we came to a higher hill than we had usually met with: here we found a small piece of indifferent road, but it might easily be repaired with the sand-stone, which is the soil of the country, and of which it is made: even in its present state, it was not impassable for wheel carriages, as was shewn by the numerous tracks of arabah wheels.

At the base of the hill we saw the pretty village of Chutakh on our left. It is separated from the road by a beautiful mountain torrent, over which it is approached by two bridges: the place contains about two hundred houses. Below the village the torrent descends into a kind of cascade, and turns several mills.

Throughout this journey, we have been exceedingly struck with the condition of the Bulgarian peasantry. They appeared very

comfortable: their cottages, both inside and out, are remarkably clean; they are well dressed, and the ornaments of the women bespeak them in easy circumstances.

The Bulgarians are a fine, healthy-looking race, and very industrious in their habits: they cultivate the land, tend their flocks, rear cattle for sale, carry to market butter, cheese, and poultry, and cut wood in the forest, to dispose of it in the larger towns. At Adrianople and Philopopoli, they are occupied in several works of handicraft.

Generally speaking, the Bulgarians are proprietors of the land they cultivate. They lay out a portion of their grounds in flower-gardens, vineyards, and corn-fields; the remainder they devote to pasture. Their live stock consists of buffaloes, white and black sheep, goats, turkeys, and fowls. Almost every peasant has his own arabah. The Bulgarians' houses, which are of wood and clay, are built by themselves. The larger a Bulgarian's family is, the better he is off, as labour can be found for all.

From choice, they are no great consumers of animal food. In October they generally kill

a cow, but this is considered rather as a luxury. Their made dishes are exceedingly good, as I can testify, particularly a certain sausage called *soochook*, and some *cabaubs* made of fine herbs. Their ordinary articles of food are cheese, *yaoort* (curds), eggs, and a salad, which they make of cucumbers, capsicums, onions, and garlic. During their fasts, they subsist almost entirely on beans and olives.

Their usual beverage is water, but they are all drinkers of wine, and seldom get drunk, except on the feast-days of their saints, and especially of their general patron, Nicolas.

The dress of the cottager is made at home. The principal material is the cloth woven from the wool of the black sheep common to the country. The women and children spin and weave it, sending it to the water-mills to be smoothed.

Of this cloth they make a jacket, which covers the thighs: it is handsomely embroidered by the women with black braid; the waistcoat, called *sookar*, is also fancifully worked. The lower dress consists of the *pootoor* (breeches), which is very large and full to the knee, and

fits tight round the leg to the ancle: they wear woollen socks both in summer and winter; the shoe is like the Italian sandal. Their shirts are of cotton, the cloth of which is made by the women, who adorn the sleeves and collars with patterns worked in worsted of various colours. The head covering of every peasant is a cylindrical-shaped cap of black sheep-skin.

The women's dress is simple, but picturesque; it varies a little in different parts of the Balcan: some wear a cylindrical-shaped bonnet of a harlequin pattern, over which they put a handkerchief, and tie it under the chin. The gown is black, with a broad border, on which are sewn three pieces of stuff of different colours. The sash round the waist is broad, prettily worked, and very becoming. They stick numerous coins in their hair, wear large rings in their ears, and a profusion of them on their fingers: their wrists are adorned with bracelets of glass, and occasionally of massive silver, like those cut in lava at Naples.

The Bulgarian marries very young, the wives being from twelve to thirteen years of age. In the villages, the Bulgarian couples

pass their lives very amicably together; but in the larger towns, such as Adrianople, they divorce on the slightest pretence; and I must be excused for saying, that it is by the ladies these divorces are generally desired. They very often occur six weeks after marriage. A short time before we came to Adrianople, a very pretty young woman had offered her services to Mrs. Duveluz. She said that she had been just married to a man who had promised her a *ferijee* (a sort of loose cloak); but, added she, "he is a poor wretch, and cannot perform his promise; so I shall get divorced, as I can gain nothing by remaining longer with him."

The Greek clergy are anxious to do away with these divorces, but are deterred from violently opposing them, lest the parties soliciting the indulgence should become Turks. Our friend, the Archbishop of Adrianople, is very averse to the practice, and has lately obtained a firman from the Porte, to enforce a stricter line of propriety from the ladies of his church. If the women misbehave, they are generally banished to Enos, and are not

unfrequently condemned to corporal punishment.

I have been somewhat minute in my observations on the Bulgarians, because we passed much of our time very agreeably in their society, and because I am anxious to shew what kind of subjects the Turks, by their own folly, are about to lose.

Seven hours' march brought us to Osman Bazaar, eighteen miles from Cazan. It is a Turkish town, and contains a thousand houses. We did not halt there: it appeared almost deserted. On the opposite side we saw women carrying wood, and others at work in the fields.

We found here the foliage off the trees, and all nature wearing the appearance of winter. Unlike the southern side of the Balcan, where the summer sun browns the ground, and the autumnal showers give the verdure of a fresh herbage; the cold north wind and early frosts destroy the green which, under favour of a cooler climate, flourishes during spring and summer.

We now entered a forest of oaks: on

emerging from it, we came to an English-looking and well-cultivated country.

At a short distance from the road was a Turkish boy at work: he no sooner saw us, than, evidently mistaking us for Russians, he fled in the greatest terror, and hid himself in the wood which we had just quitted.

On the southern side of the Balcan there was scarcely a Turk to be seen; on this side we hardly saw a Bulgarian. We passed several Christian villages, but they were mostly empty, the inhabitants having been driven out by their Mahometan neighbours.

An hour beyond Osman Bazaar, we passed two small villages, both on the left hand. At four o'clock we came to a valley, in which lies the village of Derbent.

The town derives its name from its situation, at the entrance of a mountain gorge, through which the road to Shumla passes. The word *derbent*, as I said before, means literally "closed door;" and literally was its signification fulfilled in our case; for we had no sooner made our appearance, than we saw, through the crevices of the enclosures, the

respective women of the different houses shuffle down to barricade their doors against us. In vain we pleaded our cause as way-worn travellers; they were obdurate to our entreaties, and answered each supplication for admittance by the Turkish negative of *yok*, which we heard pronounced in every note of the female gamut.

The sun was fast setting, the horses were too tired to proceed, we were without food, a bitter sharp frost was setting in, and a bivouac in the mountain at this inclement season stared us in the face. We had already given up, in despair, all hopes of a night's lodging, when a miller, at the outskirts of the town, took compassion on us, and great was our satisfaction in sleeping under the shelter of a roof.

The reception we met with at Derbent must not be urged against Turkish hospitality: it may serve as an exception to a general rule. The truth is, that this district is proverbial amongst the Turks as containing a fierce, savage, and inhospitable race.

A few years ago, Mustapha was travelling in company with some other Turks, and arrived

one wretched evening at a neighbouring village called Carapounhar. They solicited hospitality, and were answered by a shot from a gun. When it was dark, the travellers found an unoccupied house, belonging to those who had refused them admittance; into this they crept, and remained in it till an hour before daylight: they then remounted their horses, but first set fire to the place of their night's lodging, and burned it to the ground.

Our room in the evening was full of villagers, who appeared glad to see us in any house but their own. They were all old men, the younger people having been sent to the army.

Amongst our visiters was a tax-gatherer from Shumla, who had come to levy contributions on the village. He was a gigantic Turk, armed to the teeth, and in the possession of a most ferocious pair of mustachios. It was ridiculous to see the pomposity and assurance with which this "Sir Oracle" delivered his sentiments, as well as the respect and diffidence with which he was listened to by his humble and oppressed auditors.

We were told by this man that, a short time ago, a Turk of Jumah (the village through which we passed in the morning), went to Oogya Juah with sixty thousand piastres to purchase tobacco. He took with him a Bulgarian guide, appointed by the Cossack officer we had seen at Cazan. When near Ferdich, his guide left him. Wishing to speak to the head Bulgarian of the village, he was directed by the villagers to a place where they told him he would find the person of whom he was in search. The Turk went as directed; but no sooner had he arrived, than he was surrounded, robbed, and murdered, by a gang that had been lying in ambush for him. This is an illustration of the consequences likely to ensue from arming one class of inhabitants against the other.

From my inquiries here, and in other Turkish villages in Bulgaria, I found that the Mahometans entertained the same hostility to their government as did their countrymen at Adrianople. They are further strengthened in this feeling by their commercial intercourse with the Tartars of the Crimea, formerly their fellow-subjects, and still the professors of the same

religion. They hear from them that large fortunes are made by Mahometans, whose property is respected, and who are allowed the free exercise of their worship.

November 7. A fine frosty morning: at an hour before break of day, we left our night's quarters, and passing between two mountains which run parallel to each other, we entered the gorge whence the name of the village is derived.

The road is narrow, leading along the ridge of a precipice, which the feeble light of the stars scarcely enabled us to avoid.

Emerging from the pass, which was two miles in length, we came, at daylight, on a plain with occasional slopes, bounded on three sides by mountains, forming an amphitheatre of sixteen miles' diameter.

As the country was for the most part a dead flat, we asked when we should complete our passage through the Balcan: great was our surprise at being informed, that we had already crossed this celebrated chain of mountains.

We passed through Juma, a town containing

about four thousand inhabitants. We did not stop here, but pushed on to the heights which bound the open country surrounding the town towards the east, and which command Shumla from the north and west.

We saw, at intervals, five small villages, two Turkish, and three Bulgarian. The Christian houses are generally the neater. The Mahometan residence can always be distinguished by having two houses within the same enclosure; the one for the peasant himself, and the other for the women of his family.

The country is particularly fertile, and, if fairly treated, would be most productive; but here, as elsewhere in Turkey, the genius of misrule presides: tombstones and fallow lands bespeak a population that once was, but has now passed away.

Our ride took us over the sites of several villages which had been rased to the ground by the governor of Shumla, in the disturbed times of Sultan Selim. Some of the ruins bore the marks of more recent destruction. Foreign war had finished the ruin which

domestic strife had begun. The license of the Turkish and Russian armies has made the picture of desolation complete.

The ascent to the heights above Shumla is very steep; they are separated from each other by deep perpendicular rocky ravines, clothed with wood. So abrupt and precipitous are they, that Mustapha, who always prefers a short cut, brought us, unawares, to the very brink of one of these yawning chasms, to the bottom of which we should have fallen, if our horses had not possessed a more instinctive knowledge of the danger than ourselves.

With some difficulty we regained the road: we now ascended a narrow pass. The mountains about Shumla are covered with a thorny brushwood, which forms a highly advantageous cover for light infantry, particularly for Turkish troops, who fight so much better in ambuscade. The summit of the pass is crowned by five Turkish field-works. This position I consider to be quite impregnable, as, indeed, is every advance by the mountain side. Around were the sites of several encamp-

ments, which had been quitted for quarters in the town.

The descent from the heights brought us to Shumla. We entered the town without passing through a single gate, or being asked any questions.

At the outskirts we saw about four hundred troops at the European drill: I was in uniform at the time. No sooner were we seen than the drums beat, and the troops shouldered their arms, but we avoided the compliment by passing to the rear. We were evidently mistaken for Russians, as the commanding officer came up, and, saluting us, asked us if their drill was not *kurasho*, Russ for "good."

The streets were so full of troops, that our horses could scarcely make their way through the crowd. The soldiers made no attempt to annoy us, further than by an insulting sound with their mouths, and crying out *Muscove* (Muscovite) as loud as they could bawl.

The number of troops stationed here promised badly for lodgings. Mr. Duveluz had given us a letter to Mr. Haggermann, a Hano-

A PLAN OF SHUMLA AND ITS ENVIRONS.

Redoubt
Cemetery
Cemetery
Redoubt
Redoubt
Redoubt

verian in the medical service of the Turkish army. In the market-place we met one of the grand vizier's kavasses, who turned out to be an acquaintance of Mustapha's. He inquired of him for Mr. Haggermann.

"Of what nation is he?" asked the kavass.

"He is a *Nemshee*" (German), replied Mustapha.

"Is he a Giaour, or a Mussulman?"

"He is a Giaour."

"Ah! he was an infidel once, perhaps, but now he is a true believer. He is hakim bashee (chief physician) to my master, the vizier, and his name is Mohumud Aga. Come along with me, and I will introduce you to him."

We followed our guide through several winding streets. At last we gained admittance into a court-yard. Ascending a kind of ladder staircase, we came to a dark room, well furnished with ottomans. Here we saw an oldish-looking man, with haggard features, bleared grey eyes, a reddish nose, grizzly mustachios overshadowing his mouth, and a countenance indicating unrestrained indulgence in the bottle, and in other pleasures. He was

dressed in full Turkish costume, and was surrounded by several officers, who were all smoking their pipes.

As soon as he saw us approach, he started from his couch with a most un-oriental alacrity, and asked the kavass what brought us there? He was told that we came to solicit his hospitality. He immediately loaded the kavass with a heap of abuse, in Turkish, for bringing us to him; and added, "Take these fellows away, you *pezavink;* I'll have nothing to say to them." Then, addressing himself to us in German French, he politely apologised for his inability to accommodate us in his quarters.

Mr. Duveluz had represented his friend Haggermann as a man of mild and amiable manners. The personage we had just seen certainly did not answer this description, though he did in the coincidence of language and profession. There was no time for debating these contradictions, and the only chance of a roof over our heads seemed destroyed. We wandered about the town almost in despair. Khan after khan was visited: at every gate a sen-

tinel was placed, and at every one were we denied admittance. After a long search, we discovered, in the market-place, a wretched khan, that had been set aside for merchants. We were lodged in the lower range of rooms, in the court-yard, on the slope of an inclined plane. Our apartment was eight feet square, by six high. It was situated below the level of the ground, and was so damp as to be almost in a muddy state: a mat, completely rotten, from the moisture of the earth, was our only protection from its humid influence. A few wooden bars served for a window-frame, and there were no shutters; the door was full of holes, and did not meet its posts by several inches; there was no fire-place whatever; the day was as wretched and raw as the month of November could make it, for though the air was extremely damp, it was bitterly keen, — the forerunner of the heavy snow which we shortly afterwards experienced. Mustapha, the surijee, and myself, were exceedingly unwell, and so completely knocked up with illness, that we could not have proceeded, even if our horses had been competent to the journey.

With such sorry entertainment for man, the poor beasts could not expect to be very well off; and our surijee brought us the unpleasing intelligence, that it would be impossible to procure corn for our horses.

A beam of hope gleamed upon us, when we discovered that the German renegade we had seen, was not Mr. Haggermann. A person proposed to shew us his quarters; we therefore remounted our horses, and proceeded with him. We found the doctor, to all appearance, at death's door; he was in a burning fever, and unable to speak, except in a whisper. Even under such circumstances, he was not deficient in that kindness and hospitality which we had been assured of meeting at his hands. He sent a servant with us to a friend, who proved to be the identical Mohumud Aga we had seen in the morning. He received us more civilly the second time, and talked of some arrangements about finding us a room. In the mean while, we returned to our khan, and shortly after, Mr. Haggermann's servant came to tell us that he had prepared an apartment for us in his master's house. This was joyful intelligence

to us; for I feel confident, that neither Mustapha nor myself could have survived a night's lodging in the wretched hole we now quitted with such satisfaction.

Within a few yards of the khan, we saw eight or ten persons standing in a circle. We rode up to the spot to observe what had attracted their attention. It was a human body, with the head severed from it. The neck was very much jagged, and seemed as though several blows had been inflicted, before the execution had been effected. In Constantinople the severed head is always placed under the arm, but here it had been replaced on the neck. The corpse was yet warm and smoking; the decapitation must therefore have taken place only a few moments before our arrival. So indifferent did the people seem to this spectacle, that it caused no stir whatever in the market-place; and the master of the khan, whom we had despatched for bread, went out and returned without stopping to look at the execution, though he must have passed by the spot where it took place, both in going

and returning. Nor did he make allusion to the circumstance in the slightest manner.

The crime of the deceased was robbery: he had that moment been caught by some soldiers, on the same road as that by which we entered Shumla. It is therefore possible, that he was in ambush when we passed.

The gang to which this man belonged was very numerous. Some had been shot by the soldiers, others had been beheaded, and five of them had suffered the dreadful ordeal of impalement at Adrianople. We heard from persons who had been present at these executions, that the dogs had eaten away the lower extremities.

The person whose body lay before us was a Turk. It is very rare that an individual of this nation is guilty of robbery; when it does occur, something may generally be pleaded in extenuation. The present sufferer was an Arnaout, a Mahometan Albanian, belonging to the army of the Pasha of Scutari, and therefore an exception to the general rule of Turkish honesty; but even for him some excuse might be adduced.

The corps to which he belonged had mainly contributed to the defence of Shumla: at the signing of the peace, the Albanians, being irregular troops, were speedily disbanded, and sent away without either thanks or remuneration. Thus turned destitute on the world, many of them joined some disaffected regulars of the army, and forming together a banditti, resorted to the desperate remedy of obtaining funds by plunder to enable them to return to their own country.

A short ride brought us to the residence of Mr. Haggermann. Here, by the kindness of our host, we partook of a Mahometan dinner, seasoned with the Christian addition of wine — an agreeable termination to the events of a day, which had appeared so inauspicious in its commencement.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Grand Vizier's Dragoman — Visit to his Highness — Michalachi metamorphosed — Military Dialogue — Mode of Signature — The Honour of Smoking in the Grand Vizier's Presence — My Brother Major — Turks' Opinion of British Soldiers — Turks at the European Drill — Extreme Youth of the Soldiers — The Band — Dismissal from Parade — Observations on the Changes of the Dress and Arms of the Turks — Visits from the Grand Vizier's Dragoman — The Archbishop of Shumla — The Turks' Ignorance of foreign Languages favourable to the Greeks' Revolt.

November 9. We found our host considerably better this morning. When we saw him yesterday, his malady was at the crisis; he was in the utmost danger, but his constitution gained the victory, and he might now be considered convalescent.

We informed him of our wishes to be presented to the grand vizier. He advised us, as a preliminary, to call upon Signor Michalachi, the dragoman to this minister. We went,

as directed. He was a true specimen of a Greek in office: vain, pompous, intriguing, visionary, and cunning; and he bore the marks of these qualities in his countenance. He received us with an air of dignified condescension, and asked what letters we had. We replied, that we had no documents but our passports. As travelling for pleasure in such disturbed times, and in such unsettled weather, had never entered his contemplation, he decided that we were spies, and shewed by his manner that such was his opinion. In the evening he called on us, and after minutely examining our passports, told us that the grand vizier would grant us an interview at seven the next morning.

November 10. At the appointed hour we sallied forth to pay our respects to the Turkish prime minister. His residence was dirty and dilapidated: it enclosed a square court, that was full of cannon, some of which had been taken from the Russians. We ascended a flight of stairs, passed though a host of attendants, and, without being detained a moment, were ushered into the presence of his highness.

He was seated on an ottoman, in the corner

of a dark unornamented room. He wore loose flowing robes and the old Turkish turban; a head-dress that is held in great abhorrence at the Porte, being considered a mark of janizaryism, an order of things to which his highness is supposed to be very partial.

Mahomet Redschid Pasha was seraskier in Roumelia in 1825, and had not long been promoted to the vizierate when we saw him. He is a Georgian by birth, and has all the characteristic appearance of his country — coarse, severe, but not unhandsome features, large eyes, rather an aquiline nose, and good teeth. He appears to be about fifty years of age; and his originally black beard is beginning to assume a greyish tinge. He has no affectation in his manner, and Georgian liveliness seems contending with Turkish phlegm.

As soon as we had made our obeisances, he motioned us to sit down. We placed ourselves on his right hand, Lord Dunlo being next to him; Michalachi, the dragoman, stood at a respectful distance, the haughty man in office being transformed into an abject slave: his arms were folded, his eyes cast down, and

a thick perspiration was visible on his brow. In short, the metamorphosis was perfect.

Lord Dunlo was in a European dress; I wore my uniform. The vizier made a few civil speeches to my fellow-traveller, and then suddenly turned from the plain blue coat to the embroidered scarlet one, and the following conversation took place. I should premise, that my answers were dictated by a desire to remove the suspicion of our being spies, evidently entertained by the vizier. He began with—

"Do you speak Turkish?"

"Not a word."

"Are you a nisam (a regular) of the English padishah" (king)?

"Yes."

"What is your rank?"

"A major."

"Have you served?"

"Yes."

"Against whom?"

"Against the French."

"Where have you ever seen the Russian army?"

"In France, Russia, and Turkey."

" Do your tactics resemble theirs ?"

" In all essential points."

" What is the difference between them ?"

" I think ours superior. We adopt the march in line more generally than the Russians. They form in three ranks; whereas we, by marching in two, can oppose a greater extent of front to the enemy."

" Why cannot they march in two ranks ?"

" I do not pretend to say; perhaps it is because their supernumerary commissioned officers are not selected from so respectable a class of society as in England, and therefore so much dependence cannot be placed upon their making the men do their duty. In our country, an ensign, in the rear of his company, thinks as much of his honour and responsibility as a general officer. The same feeling could not exist in the Russian army, where their officers of the highest rank may be reduced to private soldiers, and are even liable to be flogged, at the whim of a superior."

" In what other points are your manœuvres different from theirs ?"

" We have a new system of drill, by

which, instead of performing movements from the flanks, as the Russians do, we form on the centre; a mode which insures celerity, the great object of all military movements."

"Shew me one of these," said the vizier. This was a startling request for me, who had been so long absent from regimental duty: however, there was no help for it; and, anxious to remove his suspicions, I began my task.

The manœuvre I selected, not for its superiority, but because it was the first that occurred to me, was the advance by double column from the centre.

"What is the advantage of this?" was the vizier's next pertinent question.

"In a mountainous country like Turkey, it might be available in the passage of a defile, and would be advantageous as enabling a rapid re-formation into line."

I had hitherto occupied a place on his right hand, below Lord Dunlo, and was proceeding slowly to explain.

"Come close to me," said his highness. I obeyed him, till our knees touched: thus, without the slightest premeditation on my

part, I found myself face to face with the dreaded prime minister of Turkey, giving him a lesson on elementary drill.

I had just broken into column of subdivisions with the motion of my hands; when the vizier, seeing the difficulty under which I laboured, lent me his chaplet of beads, to facilitate the explanation.

This was of great assistance, and I got through the business tolerably well. After explaining the manœuvre twice over, the vizier seemed to comprehend.

The only person present had been Michalachi, the interpreter. The vizier now clapped his hands, and the room immediately filled with *meeralis* and *binbashees* (generals and colonels). "Look," said his highness to them, "at this young officer; he is your inferior in rank, and yet he knows more about his profession than all of you put together." (No great compliment either.) Then, turning to me, he said, "It is not the fault of the Osmanli soldier, for he is brave enough; it is all owing to these ignorant fellows that the duty in our service is not properly carried on."

The assembled officers bowed respectfully to the reproof, but did not presume to answer.

" Draw out this manœuvre upon paper," said the vizier: " in the afternoon I will send an officer to you, of a rank corresponding with yours; he shall shew you our own book of manœuvres; you can then explain yourself more fully."

In the course of conversation, Michalachi had given a wrong interpretation to something which I had said. I perceived it, and interrupted him immediately; forgetting that I had denied all knowledge of Turkish. The incident amused the vizier, and he laughed heartily.

During our interview, several papers were brought for sealing. While talking with us, he held out his middle finger to an attendant, who smeared it with ink: the black composition was then rubbed on the seal of state, which, after wetting the paper with his tongue, he put upon the documents.

It is worthy of observation, that the vizier presented us with pipes. This is a very great

honour, as only three persons in the empire, namely, the mufti, the cadi, and the beglerbeg, are allowed to smoke in his presence. To such an extent is this prohibition carried, that every one removes the pipe from his mouth as his highness passes.

In the afternoon, my brother-major, a lad of about eighteen, called upon me with the Turkish drill-book. I found it to comprise all the simple operations, in the book known in the army as the "Eighteen Manœuvres."

The Turks have a remarkable aptitude and quickness at gaining a smattering of any thing they attempt to learn. The young major not only shewed himself fully conversant with the manœuvres in his own book; but, after a very few repetitions, seemed fully to comprehend the manœuvre I had given him, and to perceive its superiority over the old mode of moving from the flanks.

To facilitate his comprehension further, I made a plan of the manœuvre, and drew up an explanation in Italian, which Michalachi interpreted into Turkish. I afterwards heard, that on the next, and for several days follow-

ing, the grand vizier had ordered the troops to practise the manœuvre, and had personally superintended the instruction.

The Turkish major told me, that in their army the English were supposed to be good sailors, but very inefficient soldiers. His authority for this opinion was his French instructor of drill.

The knowledge of the source whence he drew this remark settled some scruples of conscience I had entertained of having, by shewing this manœuvre, in some way reflected upon this instructor's military knowledge.

The observation did not surprise me, as I have met with few Frenchmen who did not think that the Duke of Wellington had no business to win the battle of Waterloo.

In the middle of our lesson, we heard a drum: it announced to us that troops were proceeding to their exercise. At the major's invitation, Lord Dunlo and myself accompanied him to the ground.

We found a regiment of noisy children, from twelve to twenty years of age. They were dressed in the ungraceful uniform newly in-

troduced; tight blue jackets, trousers full to the knee, and fitting close to the calf of the leg. This tightness is particularly unbecoming to a Turkish soldier, as (owing to their sedentary habits) it exposes the worst of a very bad set of limbs; a black leather belt was worn over the left shoulder, and another was strapped round the loins, the one holding the cartouch-box, the other the bayonet. The fez or scull-cap hanging over their ears, formed a very unfavourable contrast with the graceful looking shako of the Russian soldier. The colours of their dresses were red, blue, or brown.

The troops were formed in a line of three ranks; they then broke into columns by the wheel of companies, halted, and re-formed line. Of the principle of this movement they seemed utterly ignorant; for one regiment took up so much distance, that it was three times the extent of its own front from that which it ought to have joined; and another so little, that it lapped over the one in front of it. After much chattering and bustle between officers and men, they at last formed the line.

They now went through the manual and platoon exercise, which they performed tolerably well, considering the incessant talking they kept up during the drill. The fire-lock exercise over, they again wheeled into column, and continued marching to music, alternately wheeling to the right and left.

But I must not omit to mention the band, more especially the drum-majors of the respective corps, as these are officers held in high esteem by the Turks. The first that I saw this afternoon, was about fourteen years of age. He was gaudily covered with embroidered straps, and performed his share of the business as well as the best of them, making flourishes with his badge of office, that would have done honour to a French tambour-major.

The whole establishment is professedly on the French model, and the tunes they played were principally vaudeville airs. I cannot say much for their performance, though it seemed adapted to the tender age of the soldiers; for what with the squeaking of their little trumpets, and the beating of their little drums, it seemed as though a toy-shop had been ran-

sacked to supply the instruments that had produced these martial sounds.

The dismissal of the parade was like the breaking up of a school: the word was no sooner given, than off ran officers and privates, shouting and clapping their hands. In a few moments they might be seen scattered over the plain, busily occupied in every species of juvenile game.

The extreme youth of the soldiery is at once a matter of policy and necessity on the part of the Turkish government. Their own system of extermination, together with the effects of the climate and the sword of the enemy, have destroyed nearly all the serviceable men in the empire; and the few of mature age that remain, are supposed to be disaffected to the government.

By the laws of Turkey, certain colours and fashions are set apart for the Mussulmans alone; and the old Turk, with his splendid cachemires, his turban, and richly ornamented vest, looked down with contempt on the Frank, in his plain, and, in their eyes, unseemly dress, and spurned the rayah whose garments bore the badge of

slavery. Repeated defeat could not convince them of the superiority of Frank discipline, and of the bayonet over the tumultuous mode of warfare with the sabre and yatagan. In his new uncomely dress, with arms he has not learned to wield, the nizaim soldier walks about ashamed of his new, and regretting his old costume; and this feeling is not yet counteracted by any perceptible advantages. Most of the Turkish officers and soldiers find themselves so uncomfortable in their European shoes, after being used to slippers, that they almost all wear them down at heel. The sultan, and some of his cavalry officers alone, seem to take a pride in their European trousers and Wellington boots; the rest feel only their inconvenience and absurdity. There is no doubt that this feeling contributed very much to the inefficient state of the Turkish army during the late war; and the change in their old enemies has been particularly remarked by the Russians.

November 11. We were visited this morning by Michalachi and the Bulgarian archbishop of Shumla, or *despot* as he is called,

a title which seems assigned in derision to a rayah churchman. This last is a native of one of the small islands of the Archipelago. He was no sooner seated, than, as is usual with the Greeks, he entered at once into abuse of the Turkish government, and into a long conversation on the prospects of his fellow-rayahs. He told us that he was highly disappointed at no mention having been made of his countrymen in the treaty of Adrianople; and hoped for a renewal of the war, as the only means of release from the Turkish yoke. He stated all classes of the inhabitants of Shumla to be utterly ruined and highly discontented. From fifteen to two and twenty soldiers were billeted in every house. He begged we would not think of calling upon him, as he had no room to receive us in, nearly all his apartments being in the occupation of a meer-ali, a general officer. The grand vizier had converted the metropolitan Greek church into a magazine, though, as he told us, there were twenty-four mosques in the town.

In this conversation Michalachi joined, and appeared to take a great interest, particularly

in those subjects relative to Greece. The archbishop and Michalachi seemed to be great friends, for, as they expressed themselves of one another, "how can we be otherwise? we are the only two well-informed men of the place!"

The blind and stupid contempt of the Turk for Europeans, has made him consider it a disgrace to learn their language. In his relation, therefore, with foreign powers, he requires interpreters, in whose power, from the confidential situation they hold, he must of necessity be. Whom does he employ in this important office? The Greeks, who, of all people, are most interested in misleading him, and who, from their talent and cunning, are most able to do so.

I have before alluded to the secret intelligence which I considered to exist between Greeks of all denominations. To such an understanding amongst this enterprising nation, what facilities are not afforded by the infatuated ignorance of their oppressors? Suppose that the Greek rayahs were now ready to rise against Turkey, and then consider the advan-

tages their cause would derive from the relation between such a man as Michalachi, a Greek, (one of which people the prime vizier must employ,) and the archbishop of Shumla, whose office must give him such a powerful and extensive influence over so large a portion of his countrymen.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Remarks on Taxation — Mohumud Aga — Reason for his becoming a Mahometan — Postponement of a Turkish Review — Visit the Fortifications of Shumla — The town has no Walls — Chunghiul Fort — Sultan Fort — Fidia, Alifatah, and Shialli Forts — Operations of the Russian Army before Shumla, in 1829—Remarks on the Conduct of the Russian Army before Shumla, Silistria, Varna — Was the Turkish Commander at Varna bribed by the Russians? Visit to a Turkish General — Manual and Platoon Exercise — Usual Extent of a Turkish Officer's Military Knowledge.

We mentioned to Michalachi the Asiatic Society of London, and assured him that this body would willingly assist the Turkish authorities in the translation of such scientific English works as they might consider beneficial to the country. "Then," said Michalachi, "you would greatly please the vizier, if you would have translated for him some of your best works upon taxes. We know that there

is no nation that pays so large a revenue, in proportion to its size, as England; and yet it is not so rich, either in soil or productions, as Turkey. If, therefore, your country can produce so much wealth from such comparatively small means, what might not this vast empire furnish to the treasury, if the burden of taxation were properly laid on?"

We answered: "The first step towards increasing the taxes, would be to assist the subject in the means of paying them. This might be done by holding out encouragement to industry, by securing to the people their lives and properties, by removing all vexatious and useless prohibitions, and by the sultan's foregoing the right to monopolies, and to succession of his subjects' lands."

We might have quoted the substance of Montesquieu's remarks on this subject,* but we had said enough already, for it was above

* "Règle générale: on peut lever des tributs plus forts à proportion de la liberté des sujets; et l'on est forcée de les modérer à mésure que la servitude augmente. Cela a toujours été, et cela sera toujours. C'est une règle tirée de la

the comprehension of Michalachi, who turned the conversation.

We received another visit from Mohumud Aga, the vizier's doctor. He seemed to be a man of some information. If the circumstances were related which have induced each man to turn Turk, what a curious volume of biography it would form! Not that the history of Mohumud Aga's conversion has any thing remarkable, further than as it is identified with great names. He was born of a respectable family in Saxe-Coburg. Twelve years ago, he became a Mahometan at Widden; whither he had fled from the Austrian government, who were in pursuit of him. His offence was delivering a letter from Napoleon to Maria Louisa. Redschid Pasha, the present vizier, is his Turkish sponsor, and has ever since taken him under his protection. He is said to be on very familiar terms with his master, and to give him his opinion freely on all subjects.

nature, qui ne varie point..... Dans ces montagnes stériles (la Suisse) les vivres sont si chers, et le pays est si peuplé, qu'un Suisse paie quatre fois plus à la nature qu'un Turc ne paie au sultan."— *Esprit des Loix*, liv. xiii. chap. xii.

He appears to be grateful for the kindness he has received, and spoke to us in the warmest terms of the vizier, who, he told us, was "un espèce de Charles XII."

November 12. We received a message this morning from the grand vizier, informing us that there was to be a review of the troops, which he hoped we would attend. As bad luck would have it, the weather was so unfavourable that this exhibition was postponed. Signior Michalachi, whom we saw afterwards, told us that the whole garrison had been furnished with cartridges, in order that we might judge of their skill in firing.

Disappointed in the review, we went round the fortifications, in company with three Frank surgeons, who had all been eye-witnesses of the late contests between the Russians and the Turks. We entered some of the forts, but in others we could not gain admission; our Frank conductors being frequently reproached by the Turks, from within, for bringing Russians (as they supposed us to be) to visit the works.

Before our arrival here, we had expected

to find Shumla a strongly fortified place; yet nothing can be more paltry than its defences. In the last century it could boast of walls; but, as it was the usual residence of the grand vizier, the despotic jealousy of the sultan then on the Ottoman throne, induced him to destroy the walls, lest his minister should, in the security of the fortress, be disposed to resist his imperial will.

As I mentioned before, the steepness of the heights, the thickness of the brushwood, and the depth of the ravines, have made the approach to Shumla almost inaccessible by the mountains, which, in the form of a horse-shoe, defend it on three of its sides.

The enclosed space which Shumla occupies is about three miles long and two broad. It is situated on the slope of the mountain, and the habitations extend to the plain below. Within this space there were vineyards, but they have been destroyed for the grand vizier's encampment. A large stream flows through the town: instead, however, of being of benefit to the Turks, it is one of the causes of the unhealthiness of their army, as it serves as a

common sewer; and dead horses, as well as every other description of carrion, are allowed to impede its course, and infect the air with their putrid exhalations.

The defences towards the plain consist of an inconsiderable ditch; on the inside is a parapet, constructed with fascines. This ditch is flanked at the angles, in the Turkish fashion, by bastions, capable of containing six or seven men with small arms.

The other fortifications are a few field-works, most of them of recent erection. These I shall attempt to describe, as well as I can, from the hasty glance we were permitted to take of them.

Crossing the ditch, over a wooden bridge, we passed through the first gate, which is called Chunghiul, because it leads to a village of that name. Near the village, which is now in ruins, on the summit of a hill, and on the left side of the Constantinople road, is a fort, also called Chunghiul, forming the battery on the extreme right of the Turkish works.

The ascent from the road is rather steep, but on the opposite side it shelves gradually off

to an open plain. It was pierced for eleven guns; they are now nearly all dismounted, but they were generally eighteen pounders, and there had been a few twenty-four pounders. This work did not seem very difficult of approach, yet the Russians made six ineffectual attempts to take it.

From Chunghiul Fort, we returned nearly back to the gate by which we had entered: here we saw a fort called the Sultan, which defends this, and a gate a short distance further on. It is nearly square, and mounts twelve twenty-four pounders, which bear on three of its sides. This fort was not constructed till the month of August, 1829, and it is difficult to imagine why the Turks did not sooner think of forming a battery in such an obvious position; and why the Russians, who had been some time before Shumla, did not march on this point previous to its erection.

Crossing a long, sloping hill, or rather ridge, which runs from the town, making the curve, that formed the base of the Russian line of works, we came to three forts, all connected by a ditch, and each supporting

its neighbour on one side. Into these we were not permitted to enter, the Turkish troops within appearing to regard even the hasty view we took of the exterior with a somewhat jealous eye.

The first we came to is called the Fidia. It had mounted a few thirty-six, but the greater number had been twenty-four pounders. The second, which is a little to the rear of the Fidia, appears only to have mounted two guns. Still further to the rear is the Alifatah fort, with several guns. Beyond this is a larger fort, called Shialli; and these comprise all the fortifications towards the plain.

The Russians had been originally encamped at the base of a low hill, nearly opposite the Sultan fort. On the 5th or 6th of August, they moved from this spot, and advancing towards the Chunghiul fort, were met by the irregular Turkish troops, consisting of Albanians and Dellis. A skirmish took place, in which the Russians had the advantage. Two days afterwards, the Russians took up a fresh encampment, on a low, isolated, and circular hill, not far from Chunghiul. On the third

day there was a skirmish between the Russian and Turkish cavalry, which was not attended with advantage to either party. In the midst of this affair, the Russians either fled, or pretended to fly, to their encampment on the hill, and were immediately followed by the whole Turkish force, who completely surrounded them. From the view we had of the position taken up by the Russians, it seems miraculous how they could escape from a place from which all retreat appeared to be cut off: but it seems they knew the foe to whom they were opposed; for they no sooner opened a fire upon the Turks, than they retreated in the greatest disorder, leaving several dead upon the plain, and from three to four hundred prisoners in the hands of the Russians.

From the position taken up by the Russians, it is probable that it was their original intention to make the Chunghiul fort their point of attack; but they appear to have soon become sensible of the disadvantages of their situation; for immediately after this engagement, they took up a fresh encampment.

For fifteen days from this action, no other took place. In the course of one night the Russians threw up a work opposite to the Fidia fort. While this was constructing, the Turks kept up an unremitting fire, which, however, was not answered by the Russians. After two days, the Russians, in their turn, opened their batteries; and, under the protection of the fire, formed two other redoubts. For the next eight days a constant fire was kept up on both sides, and it then ceased.

On or about the night of the 15th of September, from five to six hundred Russians succeeded in entering the Fidia fort. With a view of intimidating the Turks, they began beating their drums; but they had soon the awful experience of its producing a very contrary effect from that intended. It is not often that a panic seizes the Ottoman troops within the walls of a fortress, however it may in the open field. Accordingly, the first tap had scarcely been given, when the Turks, instead of flying, immediately fell upon the besiegers sword in hand, and almost literally

cut them to pieces. The only person saved in this disastrous affair was a little Russian drummer-boy, possibly the innocent cause of his brother-soldiers' fate. The next morning the Mussulmans sent a flag of truce to invite the Christians to take away and bury their dead. This over, a continued but ineffective fire was kept up on both sides during that day and the whole of the following night.

Three days after the abortive attempt on Fidia, the Russians again engaged the Turks, and were amply revenged for their defeat, by killing, wounding, and taking prisoners, more Mahometans than they had done in any previous engagement.

A Russian general, of the name of Madatof, had taken an oath that he would enter Shumla. A shot from a Turkish battery set fire to an ammunition waggon, the explosion of which mortally wounded the general; but he kept his oath, and he entered Shumla — a corpse.

Thus ended the operations against Shumla in the year 1829, in which, as in 1774 and 1810, the Russians gained some trifling successes, but were never able to take possession

of the town — a circumstance upon which, now that I have seen the works, I cannot reflect without extreme surprise.

Whatever credit the Russians deserve in the field (and they give themselves the highest), they appear to have a rooted dislike to taking towns, as is proved not only by their conduct at Shumla, but at Silistria and Varna.

The late operations against this last-named town are still less creditable to the besiegers than those to which I have just alluded. A naval officer, who was lately at Varna, informs me that the place might have been easily taken on the side towards the sea, by one line-of-battle ship; yet it was besieged by sea and by land, and the expedition commanded by the great Nicolas in person. It is quite notorious, that although the Russians had made a breach in the wall on the land side, they were two days before they had the courage to take advantage of it. Furthermore, it is credibly asserted, that what neither the iron nor lead of Russia could do, was effected with its gold. I observe that my friend Captain Alexander is of a different

opinion; but, from my observations on Russian policy, I find it difficult to account in any other manner for the reason that induced the emperor to send Youssouf Pasha, the defender of Varna, "to Odessa, with a pension for life sufficient to maintain his family creditably."*

November 11. We made another excursion to the Turkish drill-ground. On our return, we were accosted by a meer-ali, whose rank, I believe, corresponds with that of a major-general in our service. He was dressed in scarlet, with silk embroidery, and appeared to be about twenty-two years of age. He begged us to pay him a visit in his quarters. We found him billeted on the Bulgarian archbishop, the best apartments of whose house he occupied. The chamber in which he received us was hung round with European arms. He shewed us several French double-barrelled guns, and told us that he had some detonating pistols. He professed to be very

* Alexander's Travels to the Seat of War in the East, vol. ii. p. 17.

anxious to see me perform the manual and platoon exercise, and sent for a musket for that purpose. I endeavoured to comply with his request; but the manner in which I did it was only fit for the awkward squad. My failure seemed to please him exceedingly, as it gave him an opportunity of shewing his superiority. Relieving me from my drill, he proceeded to his, and went through the firelock exercise with a precision and smartness that would have reflected no discredit upon a British fugleman.

It is to such points as these that the attention of the Turkish officers is almost entirely directed: they seem to consider the whole European system of warfare to consist in the duty of a drill sergeant. I shall have occasion presently to recur to this subject.

The servant who presented us with pipes, coffee, and sweetmeats, was a yuz-bashee (a captain). He had been severely wounded in the hand in some affair before Shumla, and had been promoted for his gallantry on the spot, from a private soldier to his present rank. The menial office which he performed

is not thought derogatory to his situation, amongst a people where every one considers himself equal by birth, and where office only forms the distinction.

CHAPTER XXV.

Defective State of the Turkish Army—Prospects of its Improvement considered—The Arguments adduced—Relative State of the Mahometan and Christian Armies—Feudal System of the Turks—In what different from that of the Christians—Origin of the Janizaries—Their severe Discipline—Success of their Arms—Their gradual Decline—Abuses—Independence of the Crimea—Consequences to the Turks—Establishment of the new Troops—Their Apathy observable in the late War—The Parallel between the Destruction of the Strelitz and Janizaries considered—Concluding Remarks.

THE events of the late war convey no very favourable impression of the present effective state of the Turkish army.

There is, however, a very prevalent impression, that the Mahometan troops, if they have but leisure, will again be able to make a successful stand against a Christian force.

The advocates for this opinion contend, that the late campaign is an unfair criterion of the

future capabilities of the Turkish army; that the sultan was forced into hostilities at a moment when, having destroyed one army, he had been unable to form another; and that time to carry into effect his plan for modelling his troops on the European system of discipline is the only requisite for future success.

In support of this argument, a parallel is drawn between the destruction of the Strelitz by Peter the Great, and that of the Janizaries by Mahmoud the Second; and a comparison is also made between the character of the two monarchs.

"Russia," it is argued, "was no sooner relieved from the oppression of its licentious militia, than it rapidly became one of the greatest military powers in the world; and now that the same obstacles to the greatness of Turkey are removed, it is fair to look forward to a similar result."

The question deducible from this argument is, whether there is a reasonable prospect of a sufficient improvement taking place in the military system of Turkey, to enable her troops to compete with the armies of Europe?

The resemblance of the character of Mahmoud to that of Peter shall be considered in another part of the work.

I purpose, at present, to take a cursory glance at the relative state of the Mahometan and Christian armies, from the period that they first became opposed, to the present time; — to examine the parallel attempted to be established between the destruction of the militia of Russia and that of Turkey; — and to offer some remarks on the prospect of the regeneration of that empire.

The original military establishment of the Turks resembled our feudal tenures, but with this difference, that in Europe the barons were the vassals of the sovereign, and paid him the same allegiance that they themselves exacted from their own immediate retainers; whereas in Turkey, all grants of land being held immediately from the sultan, returned to him on the death of the incumbents. Consequently the feudal obligation that reciprocally bound the baron and the vassal was in Turkey unknown; and between the pasha and the petty feudal landholder there was no tie of benevolence

on the one hand, nor of gratitude on the other. Booty was the sole bond of union; and the first conquests which the Turks gained over the degenerate Greeks were effected with the assistance of their Tartar fellow-countrymen, whom the hope of plunder had collected under their banners. The campaign over, and their services requited, these mercenaries returned home, and gave place to a new host of adventurers, who, in like manner, deserted their ranks as soon as their rapacity was satisfied.

The defect of these imperfect and precarious levies was perceived by Amurath the First, who resolved to remedy the evil by establishing a permanent body, which should have regular pay from the imperial treasury, and which, from the nature of the institution itself, should be unable to possess feudal domains.

For this purpose, he selected the most robust of his own slaves, and ordered that the fifth of the prisoners of war, and the tenth of the children of the Christian and tributary villages, should be incorporated into the new corps. Calling in the aid of religion, he desired Hadji Becktash, a celebrated dervish of

the period, to bless and to name this new body of young warriors. He called them Janizaries (new troops); and the sign of the white sleeve of the priest, which, to the period of their extinction, the Janizaries wore suspended from their caps, recalled to the minds of the wearers the counsels and laws which they had received from this holy man, and laid the foundation of that intimate connexion between the church and the army which has caused their fall.

The Janizaries having become a permanent body, accustomed to war, and subject to a severe discipline, acquired a formidable ascendency over the feudal levies of the Christian armies. The impenetrable solidity of the close columns of their infantry, withstood, unmoved, the attacks of the cavalry of the allied army of the Franks.

The early history of the Janizaries presents one continued series of victories. This body was established in 1362. At the battle of Cossova, which took place in 1389, they conquered the confederate tribes of Christians, whose league and independence they completely crushed by this decisive victory. In

1396, Bajazet, at the head of his Janizaries, defeated at Nicopolis another crusade of one hundred thousand Christians.

By the triumph of Tamerlane over the unfortunate Bajazet, there was a check of eleven years to the succession of the descendants of Osman to the Turkish throne. In 1413 the hereditary dynasty was restored by the Janizaries, who served as a rallying point to the Ottomans, while they kept in awe the Byzantian emperors and the European sovereigns, who, by not availing themselves of the confusion attendant upon the interregnum, lost the opportunity of driving the Turks into Asia.

In 1444, Ladislaus, King of Poland and Hungary (in violation of his oath), broke the peace which he had formed with the Sultan Amurath the Second, and, aided by the Emir of Caramania and the Byzantian emperor, invaded the Turkish dominions.

The hostile powers met at Varna. Ladislaus was killed. "Ten thousand Christians," says Gibbon, "were slain in this disastrous battle: the loss of the Turks, more consider-

able in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength."*

Mahomet the Second, besides the conquest of Constantinople, added to the Turkish possessions those provinces of Europe which once formed the eastern division of the Roman empire. He drove the Genoese from Koffa in the Crimea, and the Venetians from the island of Negropont. He disembarked his troops in Italy, and sacked the city of Otranto.

Selim the First, though one of the greatest conquerors of the Ottoman dynasty, was more occupied in Africa and in Asia than in Europe. In his reign, the Julian Alps, the Save, and the Danube, formed the Turkish frontier on the side of the Venetian and Hungarian territories.

The triumph of the Ottoman over the Christian troops was at its zenith under Soliman the Magnificent, the tenth Emperor of the Turks. He commenced his reign by the

* Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 450, 4th edition.

important conquest of Belgrade, and subjugated the island of Rhodes.

In 1526 he gained a complete victory at Mohatz, in which action twenty thousand Hungarians fell. Two years after the victory of Mohatz, he arrived at the gates of Vienna; and but for the loss of his heavy artillery, which had been intercepted in its passage up the Danube, he would probably have succeeded in rendering himself master of that city, and perhaps of fulfilling his ambitious project of subjecting all Germany to the Ottoman rule.

The Mahometans continued to maintain a superiority until the seventeenth century, when the scale began to turn in favour of the Christian arms. This advantage was mainly attributable to the change which had taken place in the military organisation of the latter. Released from the trammels of the feudal system, the sovereigns of Europe began to set on foot permanent armies, and to establish large forces of infantry, who, constantly occupied in operations and military manœuvres, acquired the important qualities of unity of

action and celerity of movements. Tactics, stratagem, attack, and defence, were studied with care and success. The chances of war did not so much depend upon numbers, and were more capable of being reduced to calculation.

The skill which some European nations acquired in the art of war, soon became general to the other Christian powers, whose religion opposed no barrier to the advancement of knowledge. But these discoveries were lost to the Turks, whose minds had been impressed by their priests with a fanatical horror of every thing of Christian invention.

While the Frank armies were thus gradually making progress in military knowledge, not only did the janizaries make no further advancement, but they were gradually losing all those qualities which for so long a period had gained them the ascendency over the troops to whom they had been opposed. They had hitherto been remarkable for their bravery, their discipline, and their devotion to their sovereign, because they had hitherto formed a body of young slaves, who, having neither

country, relations, nor fortune, looked to their corps as their country, to the grand signior as their father, and to their own valour as the only means of acquiring wealth and distinction. But the sultans who succeeded the early conquerors, ceased to command their armies in person, discipline became relaxed, the daily drill was not enforced, the troops were allowed to pass in idleness that time which had been previously directed to military exercise, and were permitted to exchange the duties of the soldier for the occupation of the mechanic.

The privileges granted to the janizaries as a military band of slaves, soon excited a wish amongst free-born Mahometans to be enrolled in the corps: a few were at first admitted; and prisoners of war were no longer incorporated.

The number of Mussulmans increasing, the levies of recruits on the Christian villages were dispensed with, and at length entirely abolished. Abuses rapidly crept into the corps; the chiefs of regiments were allowed to enrol numbers of volunteers, who neither

performed service nor received pay, but, proud of the title of janizary, were certain of finding among the soldiery zealous protectors, to whom they in their turn became highly useful in the times of insurrection.

As the option was granted to the volunteers to choose their own regiments, in some there were ten thousand, in others scarcely two hundred. The original plan, which only admitted slaves and prisoners of war, being lost sight of, this militia ceased to be an instrument easy of management; and, comprising gradually the whole Turkish population, became entirely under the influence of popular feeling. Free-born men refused to submit to the discipline exacted from slaves, the laws of celibacy were disregarded, and the barracks became inhabited by married men.

Residence in quarters not being indispensable to receive pay, all the principal officers of government inscribed the names of their own servants, who were thus supported at the public charge. The pensions of several veterans were frequently heaped upon some favoured domestic. The pay being granted by

certificates from the chiefs of the corps, paved the way to peculation, and became ruinous to the troops. Thus, the glory, the discipline, the moral and physical power of the janizaries disappeared; while their pride, their political importance, and the expense of their maintenance, instead of diminishing, rapidly increased.

The first heavy reverse of fortune with which Turkey was visited, arose from the defeat by the Russians that led to the treaty of Kainardje, in 1774, by which the Ottomans were obliged to recognise the independence of the Crimea.

This treaty was most disastrous in its effects on the Turkish empire, not only on account of the loss of territory, but also of the political embarrassments to which it paved the way. I shall, however, at present consider this question only in a military point of view.

Previous to the conquest of the Crimea, the Tartars of that country were subject to the Sublime Porte, and proved of the utmost service to their allies, from the numerous hosts of light cavalry which they contributed.

These auxiliaries, by their rapid, though

irregular system of warfare, effectually defended the Turkish frontiers, and allowed the armies of the sultan to remain in full security against invasion.

By the cession of the Crimea, these Tartar tribes transferred their allegiance to their new masters; and under their more modern appellation of Cossacks, have been employed by the Russians to perform those services against the Turks which they had previously used with such success in their favour.

Thus, while the Christians became possessed of those light troops which they so much required, the Turks were deprived of a people whose method of fighting was peculiarly advantageous to them in their operations against their northern neighbours, and who were now become doubly formidable to their former masters, inasmuch as they had acquired a knowledge of European military improvement, without losing any of the advantages of their own national mode of warfare.

From this period, the janizaries gradually became more dangerous to the government from their frequent revolts, and less useful to

its defence from their ignorance and want of discipline.

The defection of the janizaries had been long felt by the Turkish monarchs, several of whom had lost their lives in endeavouring to rid themselves of this licentious corps. The formation of troops upon European principles, which had caused the deaths of so many of his predecessors, was at length effected by the present sultan.

I have already alluded to the feeling which pervades the Mahometan army relative to the new system of warfare. The fanaticism which had led to the former rise of the Turks as a military nation, has also mainly contributed to its fall. The religious zeal of the nation lies buried with the national corps. The Russian officers particularly remark on the diminution of energy and pride which formerly distinguished their ancient foe; for although, on one or two occasions, great obstinacy and courage were displayed by them, they could no longer recognise the energy of the old Turk in the new levies. This observation was fully confirmed by the Frank surgeons of the Turkish

army, who were eye-witnesses of their operations. From both these authorities, I heard that almost every act of valour was performed by the Albanians and other irregular troops.

The apathy displayed by the regular Ottoman soldiers was particularly observable at the battle near Pravadi, which took place on the 11th of June (1829). All the Russian regiments of cavalry were brought into action, and made several unsuccessful charges, but were allowed to re-form without any molestation, although they frequently had no second line to cover them; a circumstance almost without parallel in former wars.

During the whole war, among the quantity of baggage and number of fortresses taken, neither map nor plan of any description was found or heard of.

From the foregoing remarks, may we not fairly conclude, that Turkey has reached the highest degree of military excellence of which the nation is capable; that it has been long on the decline; and that, borne down by the weight of its institutions, no reasonable expectation can be entertained of its again rising from the

abject state into which it has fallen, unless, indeed, the present system of government should undergo a complete change?

Let us now examine the correctness of the parallel between the abolition of the Strelitz and the Janizaries.

The destruction of the strelitz affected only the clergy and soldiery; the landholders were interested in defending the empire from these two bodies; as for their slaves, they had only to obey the commands of their lords.

The destruction of the janizaries involved the interests of every class of Turks.

The Russians being Christians, had no religious prejudices to overcome in adopting the military innovations of the czar.

For the reasons alluded to in a former chapter, the religious prejudices of the whole Turkish nation were affected by the military innovations of the sultan.

When the strelitz were destroyed, the new Russian force consisted almost entirely of foreigners.

The bigoted pride of the Turks allows no infidel to enter their armies.

Peter had to deal with a people just emerged from barbarism; Mahmoud with a nation which had long since been verging to decay. Russia exhibits despotism in its infancy, Turkey in its old age; and who does not foresee that a country where luxury and profligacy precede civilisation, where the will of the tyrant is the only law,—must in time return to that rude state from which it has hardly emerged?

What has been said relates to the state of Turkey under its actual form of government. If at any future period the Turks should be emancipated from their present degraded condition, — if they should be released from the cruel yoke of the despot, and still more from the religious thraldom of their priesthood,— we may then look with confidence to their regeneration. They comprise all the materials for a great and powerful people: their chivalrous sense of honour, their undaunted valour, even their overweening pride, would powerfully contribute to give them a distinguished place in the scale of nations.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Nos. I. II. III. relate to the Affairs of Greece in 1828.

No. I. contains some Notes of my friend Captain ARTHUR GREGORY, *concerning Count* CAPO D'ISTRIAS, *in the Morea.*

No. I.

ON the 14th of December 1827, His Majesty's ship Warspite, commanded by Capt. William Parker, C.B. was detached from Malta, by Sir Edward Codrington, to receive on board Count Capo d'Istrias, who was to embark on board His Majesty's sloop Wolf, at Ancona.

The two ships met off Otranto, on the 6th of January, 1828, when his excellency and suite removed to the Warspite, and on the 9th arrived at Malta, for the purpose of communicating with the naval commander-in-chief on the subject of suppressing the atrocious and frequent acts of piracy which were at this time practised by the small armed Greek vessels.

On the 14th January, the Warspite again sailed with Count Capo d'Istrias, for Egina. A violent

gale of wind induced them to take shelter on the 18th in the gulf of Napoli di Romania, an event which, in the miserable and oppressed state of that part of the country, was hailed with joy by the unfortunate inhabitants, and enabled the count to communicate with the chiefs of the different parties.

At this time the Palamedes, the principal fortress, and from its position almost impregnable, was held by Grivas, whilst Strata occupied the citadel. These two chiefs had been in a state of open hostility; but although the actual cannonading had ceased, the spirit of jealousy existed, and the place was found to be in a state of the greatest anarchy and disorganisation.

On the night preceding the arrival of the Warspite, fifteen men had been killed in an attempt to resist the predatory sorties of the troops from the forts; and the unhappy inhabitants had come to the resolution of abandoning the town, without any means of shelter, or a place to retire to, preferring exposure to the weather, even at this inclement season, and the misery of starvation, to the tyranny they were hourly exposed to from the contending chiefs.

The seasonable arrival of the Warspite, and the conference held with the chiefs, prevented the desperate determination from being carried into execution, and inspired the inhabitants with confidence.

After receiving on board the various authorities and

heads of parties, his excellency landed under salutes, amidst the acclamations of the assembled inhabitants, and found means to obtain assurance from the chiefs that they would recognise his authority as president. They attempted to excuse their depredations, on the plea of necessity.

On the 21st, the Warspite again sailed, and reached the anchorage at Egina on the 23d. She had hardly dropped her anchor, when four members of the executive government came on board to wait upon his excellency, who expressed in strong terms the indignation of the allied powers as well as his own, at the disgraceful system of robbery and piracy that was carried on both by land and by sea, and which it was their determination to put a stop to.

Early the following morning, the executive government came on board to pay their formal respects to the president elect, who landed at 11 A.M. in the Warspite's barge, under salutes from that ship, and the French and Russian men of war that were at anchor there.

The same joyful feeling that had been manifested by the inhabitants of Napoli, was displayed by those of Egina. On this occasion, the whole followed him in procession to the door of the church, where he was received by the papas, singing hymns in honour of his arrival, and of the allied sovereigns. After a long extemporaneous harangue from a priest, exhorting

the people to submission and confidence in their president, he repaired to the house prepared for him.

The whole town exhibited a lamentable picture of filth, poverty, and wretchedness; and the president's, although the best house in the place, and rendered inhabitable by means of furniture sent to it, was, in every sense, a most miserable abode.

On the 7th of February the ceremony of inaugurating the president took place, which was attended by the officers of the different men of war of the allied powers in the roads; which contributed by salutes, and every mark of respect, to inspire the Greek people with confidence in the protecting influence of the allied sovereigns.

From the moment of his landing, the president applied himself most incessantly to investigate and correct the abuses of the preceding government, and to establish order in the provinces by repressing the system of plunder and peculation that pervaded every branch of the administration. He was at every step thwarted in his plans by the interested views of those who had benefited by the system of misrule he was at such pains to destroy, and whose influence gave them but too many opportunities of doing so successfully.

From the barbarous system of government under which the Greeks have so long lived, the president

was aware that little could ever be expected from the present grown-up generation, and his hopes were limited to being able to prevent them from throwing impediments in the way of his plans of amelioration.

At an early period he applied himself to the promotion of national schools, making roads, encouragement of agriculture, and to the adoption of all those means by which the rising generation might be brought up in a spirit of order and civilisation; and the present be encouraged to honesty and industry by being enabled to reap the fruit of their labours. The president also endeavoured to inculcate those principles of morality and good faith hitherto totally unknown, or at least totally unpractised and disregarded.

But to these plans of amelioration, the presence of Ibrahim Pasha, with his army, and the great want of any pecuniary supplies, offered insuperable obstacles. The English and French government had given neither support nor money beyond that moral assistance afforded by the presence of the Warspite and the Junon French frigate; and although the Russian admiral's instructions authorised him to relieve any Greek fortress in danger of falling into the hands of the Turks, and to advance a sum of money, if necessary, the supply was much too small to afford any real or effective assistance.

Count Capo d'Istrias had very much augmented

the revenue, by annulling all the contracts for farming the taxes, granted by the late government to their relatives, and which brought in little or nothing; and by declaring illegal the sale of national lands, mostly purchased by members of the government themselves, and not a farthing of the purchase-money had ever been received or accounted for: but this was prospective, and gave no present assistance.

The president's efforts were also directed towards placing the fortresses occupied by the Greeks in a state of effective defence, and expelling the Egyptian troops from the Morea. To effect the former, the removal of many chiefs, and the garrison under their orders, was indispensably necessary.

With this view, and to quiet the demands of the troops for their arrears of pay, the military leaders were convoked to a meeting on the plains of Damata, in the neighbourhood of which about 2000 Roumeliot troops, under the orders of the Prince Demetrius Ypsilanti, were assembled.

The president repaired to Poros for this purpose, accompanied by the Junon, Helen, and Acasta frigates. On the 28th he inspected the troops, who took the oath to obey his government; he promised them provision immediately, and to pay up their arrears whenever the state of the finances permitted. The reception of the president by the chief was not very enthusiastic; but, after dining with him, they

parted very good friends. The troops were sent off into Attica, to occupy the passes and to commence the blockade of Athens.*

On the 29th, the allied squadron sailed from Poros, and on the 2d of March arrived at Napoli di Romania, for the purpose of getting possession of the forts.

Notwithstanding the previous promises of the chiefs, Strata and Grivas, it was very evident, that had the president arrived unaccompanied by the allied ships, he would not have had them given up to him. On the 7th, however, the Palamedes and citadel were delivered up, and immediately garrisoned by detachments of Hydriots, Spezziots, and Ipsariots, under Admiral Sactouris and Capt. Raica. The whole department of Napoli was placed under the command of Colonel Heidegger, a most distinguished Bavarian officer, who by his firmness and abilities soon introduced a spirit of order, and kept the turbulent chiefs in awe of him, by obliging them to dismiss their numerous personal followers, restricting the arms they carried about them to a sabre, and punishing with heavy fines every one who disturbed the peace by firing muskets, pistols, &c.

* After the blockade had been established, Greek vessels were discovered carrying supplies to the Turks at Athens.

within the walls. Grivas had a staff appointment about the president, and Strata joined General Church at Draguemestre.

Previous to giving up the forts, these chiefs had disposed of most of the brass guns and stores, with which they were well supplied, on their own account. The motive assigned by the Roumeliots for not giving up their strongholds sooner, was the uncertainty that existed of the boundaries of Greece, and the fear that they should find themselves excluded.

A short time before this, an expedition under Sir Thomas Staines was sent to destroy the fort and shipping at Carabusa, situated at the west end of Candia, and which was the rendezvous and asylum of the pirates that had so long infested the entrance of the Archipelago. This was most effectually accomplished; and in the fort, plunder of every description, to an immense amount, was found. On this occasion, the Cambrian frigate was unfortunately lost; and the Rattlesnake, on board of which was embarked the greater part of the Cambrian's crew, was nearly sharing a similar fate, from which it was saved by the valour and exertions of Captain the Hon. Charles Bridgeman, and of the officers and men. Col. Urquhart, an English officer, and about seventy or eighty of the troops, in whom the president had the greatest confidence, were chosen to garrison it.

Col. Urquhart was unfortunately killed by a house blowing down, against which he had taken shelter in going down to dine on board the Isis.

Previous to this, an expedition was fitted out at Hydra and Spezzia, under the command of Col. Fabvier, for the alleged purpose of driving the Turks out of the island; but it turned out a mere speculation on the part of those who furnished the ship, to gather the crop of mastic, with which, when gathered, they sailed, leaving the troops to their fate, who were got off with great difficulty.

Before the Palamèdes was given up, intelligence was received at Napoli from Candia, that a fleet of thirty or forty sail, including two large frigates, and several smaller Egyptian men-of-war, with provisions for Ibrahim, had sailed from Alexandria, and that fifteen of them had actually reached Suda, in Candia. At the same time, notice was also received from the heights of Arcadia, that a fleet corresponding with the above account was seen off the harbour of Navarino on the 1st inst.

The immediate evacuation of the forts of Napoli became at this moment an object of so much anxiety to the president — and he had little hopes of gaining possession of them if the Warspite withdrew before they were given up — that it afforded the greatest satisfaction when it was known, on the evening of the 7th of March, that the president was put in posses-

sion of them; and that ship put to sea immediately, to proceed off Navarino, in order to ascertain the fact, and to prevent, as far as possible, further supplies of troops or provision from entering any of the ports occupied by Ibrahim Pasha. On the arrival of the Warspite off Navarino, on the 12th, Captain Parker learnt from Captain Latreyte, commanding the Iphigénie, cruising off the port, that the fleet seen off Navarino on the 1st was a French convoy.

The Warspite continued cruising close off Navarino and Modon, from the 12th of March until the 6th of April, and turned back some Egyptian vessels laden with stores. The Rifleman, which had been despatched to Suda, having brought back accounts that the fleet which had arrived there, after landing its stores had returned to Alexandria, the Warspite sailed for Carabusa and Egina, leaving the Rifleman off Navarino; and from this time the port of Navarino was constantly blockaded by vessels of the allied powers.

Sir Frederick Adam had a conference with Ibrahim Pasha at Modon, in the beginning of February, but without any result. His excellency had the satisfaction of finding the port of Modon full of vessels, under the Ionian flag, which kept Ibrahim regularly supplied with provisions of every sort.

The president left Egina in the middle of April for Napoli. He proposed visiting each of the islands; and

thinking he should be better received, and his authority more firmly established, if he went in a British line-of-battle ship, the Warspite, accompanied by the Isis and Musquito, left Egina on the 28th of April for Napoli. A gale of wind obliged the ship to anchor on the 29th in Garden Bay, opposite the town of Hydra. On the 30th they again got under weigh; and the Musquito arriving off Spezzia before the other, lay to, and Captain Martin got into his gig for the purpose of landing. When in the act of quitting his boat, an old pirate captain, whom he had taken, and had had some time on board his brig, ran out of the crowd, and told him on no account to land, as the plague had broken out both there and at Hydra. On the arrival of the squadron off Napoli, all communication with the shore was forbidden, and the yellow flag hoisted.

On the morning of the 2d, Captain Parker sent a boat with a letter to the president, to make inquiries about the plague. In a short time, the secretary of state, Tricoupi, came down, told the officer who went in the boat that they had known of it for some time, and that precautionary measures had been taken by putting Hydra near Spezzia in quarantine, on the 24th inst., as well as Cranidi and Poros. The president requested an interview any time after twelve o'clock: half-past two was appointed, when an answer was sent, to say it was too late that day; but that at

ten o'clock on the following morning he would be at the Bourdgi Fort, at the entrance of the harbour. The interview was very curious: Count Capo d'Istrias at first seemed to treat it very lightly, and said that ships coming to help him must be exposed to contact with the plague, or any thing that might happen; but on being told the best assistance ships could give him, would be by keeping themselves efficient, he turned the subject. His secretary of state denied that he had said that precautionary measures had been taken on the 24th; but fortunately there were two or three witnesses of it. It appeared that none whatever had been taken until after the delivery of Captain Parker's letter yesterday; and the reason of the president's deferring the interview until to-day became very evident. After all the lies and evasions of the official and medical men who accompanied the president had been exposed, he shifted his ground, and became an object of pity. He said that no order existed in the country; that he had no confidence in his agents; that he could not carry his measures into effect *avec des feuilles de papier*. He stamped with his foot, drew a most melancholy picture of the state of the country, and concluded by saying, *Que voulez vous que je fasse dans un pays où chacun est menteur?* He acknowledged what he should have owned at first, namely, that any attempt to form a cordon would be a delusion; but he said he would go himself to the in-

fected island, and if he fell a victim, should at least die *en honnête homme*. On being asked by Captain Martin where the Revel, a Russian sloop of war, was gone to, he broke out into a most violent rage; and, after saying it was a question *très déplacée*, he never recovered himself. This extreme sensibility on all questions relative to the Russians, was far from convincing those who heard him, that the report of his great predilection for Russia was not well founded, and in so finished a diplomatist excited no small surprise. Indeed, to put him at any moment off his guard, it was only necessary to allude to Sir Thomas Maitland and the Ionian Islands, or to ask him about the Russians. Upon almost every occasion when thwarted, the violence of his temper quite overcame the assumed placidity of the statesman.

The accounts received from all parts are most melancholy. Plague, famine, and every horror, appear to be visiting this devoted territory.

On the 8th of May we got under weigh, and on the 9th anchored in Garden Bay, where Count Heiden, with part of his squadron, had arrived from Malta. We weighed, with the Russian squadron, on the 10th. On the 11th we arrived at Egina. On the 15th a letter was received from the president, setting forth the lamentable state of Greece: although highly coloured, it was too true. During the whole winter, the ports of Navarino, Modon, &c. were only partially blockaded,

and supplies came in to Ibrahim from every part, but particularly from Zante, under the Ionian flag.

When the harvest was nearly ripe in the Morea, the ports were strictly blockaded, and Ibrahim could supply his army only by devastating the country; for which purpose he is said to have caused 4000 sickles and sithes to be made; and he called upon the allied admirals to endeavour to persuade the pasha to come to terms before devastating and ruining the country. The Russian admiral fully agreed to it, and wrote to Admiral de Rigny to join him in a letter to Ibrahim to that effect. The state of misery in the country is dreadful. A hundred bags of bread were landed from the Warspite, for which the president expressed the greatest gratitude.

We sailed on the 24th to join Admiral Sir E. Codrington, who is off Navarino. Arrived on the 29th off that place; but the admiral had returned to Malta, after writing a very strong letter to Ibrahim, upon the system of devastation and cruelty he had adopted. The Rattlesnake, Etna, a French frigate, and brig, were blockading the port.

On the 6th of June, the Rifleman sloop and a French brig arrived with a Turkish flag of truce, which had been sent up to Corfu to obtain a relaxation of the blockade, but which had been refused by Sir Frederick Adam and Count Guilleminot. We went into the harbour of Navarino. At day-break on the

7th, two Egyptian corvettes attempted to get into Navarino, by running close along the shore; but the Warspite being near the land, fired some shots over them, to which they paid no attention, and it became necessary to open the main and lower deck guns upon them. The leading corvette soon bore up, and in a few minutes the other did the same. Upon their being boarded, they were found to be from Alexandria, with stores for Ibrahim. They had suffered very much, and had four men killed and some wounded; but neither a surgeon nor carpenter was on board either vessel. They sustained the heavy fire with the greatest gallantry; and a certificate of his good conduct, accompanied by a warning not to return, was given to the senior captain, who said he ate the Pasha of Egypt's bread, and if he desired him to return he certainly would. After repairing their damage, they were sent off to Alexandria, under convoy of the Rattlesnake, which was to see them off Candia. The island of Sparteria was covered with troops looking on, and several shots fell among them.

On the 8th a boat, with a flag of truce, came out of Modon, bearing a letter and message from Ibrahim Pasha, which announced the mutiny of the Albanians at Coron, and their determination of returning to Roumelia. He attested, before the universe, that he ought not to be held responsible for

the excesses they might commit in crossing the Morea. He requested a conference on shore, and a ship to take despatches to Alexandria. The answer he received from Corfu, backed by the affairs of yesterday, have shewn him that the blockade is begun in earnest. On the 11th the conference took place.

No. II.

PROTOCOL OF CONFERENCE WITH IBRAHIM PASHA, AT MODON, 11th JUNE AND 6th JULY; AND WITH MEHEMET ALI, AT ALEXANDRIA.

Heads of a Conference held at Modon, on the 11th of June, 1828, between His Highness IBRAHIM PASHA and Captains PARKER, C.B., and the Honourable CHARLES BRIDGEMAN, on the part of England; Captain LATREYTE, of the Iphigénie, on the part of France; and Captain EPANCHIN, of the Ezekiel, on the part of Russia.

AFTER the offer of pipes and coffee, (which was refused, on account of the quarantine), and the usual Turkish ceremonies, Ibrahim repeated nearly what was contained in the message sent out with the flag of truce on the 8th ult. On being requested to send an agent to warn the Albanians of the consequence of committing any devastations, he replied, they were a parcel of scoundrels, without any chief (whom they had imprisoned), and would stone his messenger; and that he would not expose himself to any insult. That the allied officers might do what they pleased with them, but, for his part, he had

quite done with them, and should offer no opposition to their retreat across the Morea, in order to embark for Roumelia.

On repeating his wish to send despatches to Egypt by one of his officers, objection was made to receive any one on board, on account of the plague, but that his despatches should be taken care of. He replied, "he had many things to communicate which could not be written." A pause followed,—the pasha then said, "I wish to have a conference with the allied admirals: manna not being rained down from heaven, as in ancient times, the now strict blockade is felt, and my colonels and troops manifest a great desire to return home. I had rather not wait for the arrival of the admirals to forward my despatches to Egypt;" and gave the allied officers to understand, that what he had to communicate to the pasha of Egypt was what had been above stated.

His highness was told, that now the important nature of the despatches he wished to forward was known, his request should be complied with, and it was hoped he would take every precaution in the selection of the person who was to be intrusted with them.

It was answered, that the pasha, and those about him, used every precaution against the disease, and no one took greater pains to guard against it than

himself; that he should never forgive himself, and consider his honour lost, if he had been the means of introducing the plague on board; that he would strip the clothes off his own back to clothe the messenger, rather than that any risk should be incurred.

With respect to the affair of the 7th, he said, that all parties had done their duty; and although that on the part of the Warspite had been rather rigidly performed, no complaint could be made.

He then said we had talked long enough on business, and wished to talk on something more agreeable.

After a general conversation, all the parties took their leave.

The Rifleman arrived at Alexandria on the 17th of June, 1828, and landed the bearer of Ibrahim's despatches, Baki Effendi, and his servant.

The pasha, Mehemet Ali, appointed eleven o'clock on the following day to receive Captain Michell, at his palace on the sea side.

On the 18th, Captains Michell, Richards, and Rooke, accompanied by the British consul and his dragoman, had an audience of the pasha.

After coffee, and the usual Turkish ceremonies, Captain Michell requested to know when he might expect an answer to the despatch brought by him. The pasha replied, he could give no answer under twenty-five days.

Captain Michell then said, that Ibrahim Pasha had given the allied officers to understand, at their conference on the 11th, that the despatches he wished to send were of the last importance, and they had hoped a speedy answer would be sent to them.

Mehemet Ali admitted the importance of the despatches to all parties. Captain Michell then further said, that as the allied admirals would be assembled off Navarino before his return, they might expect an answer. Mehemet replied, that whether he sent an answer or not, the admirals would carry into effect any thing they might have decided upon, and that he could send no reply under twenty-five days.

Not being able to obtain any more satisfactory answers from the pasha, who immediately changed the conversation, the above mentioned took their leave.

It having been thought possible that the presence of the consul, and one or two others, might have prevented the pasha from entering into the nature of the communication brought from Ibrahim, Captain Michell requested an audience of Mehemet, under the pretext of taking leave, which was fixed by the pasha an hour after sunrise, on the 22d, when Captain Michell saw the pasha, unaccompanied by any one except the dragoman and Captain Gregory.

The interview was very short, and Mehemet did not allude, in the remotest manner, to the affairs of

Greece, or the answer to his son, except by informing Captain Michell, that the Baki Effendi was to remain at Alexandria on account of some family affairs, and the man who was sent with him as his servant, was now said to be a person of some consequence, who would take charge of the despatches for Ibrahim.

When Captain Michell was going on shore, the French corvette, La Diligente, was getting under weigh: he had scarcely left the pasha's palace, when she was under sail. Before the Rifleman had got her anchor up, the corvette cleared the harbour and shoals.

Heads of a Conference held at the Camp, near Modon, on the 6th July, 1828, *between His Highness* IBRAHIM PASHA, *and Admirals Count* HEIDEN *and* DE RIGNY, *Commodore* CAMPBELL *and Captain* PARKER.

After the usual compliments, M. de Rigny said the interview had been requested, in order to know what answer had been brought by the messenger who arrived in the Rifleman.

The pasha replied, that he had written for supplies, and that Mehemet had referred him to the allied admirals.

He was told that the allied squadrons were stationed off Navarino in order to prevent supplies from coming in, and that most assuredly the blockade would be continued with the greatest rigour: Count Heiden added, that the time probably was not far distant when a body of troops would be landed to assist the naval forces.

To these, and other remarks and questions, the following is the substance of the pasha's answers:—"If troops be landed, we (the Turkish troops) will know how to defend ourselves; we have sabres in our hands, and can die but once. I am fully aware of the kind intentions of the allies towards me: I have given a proof of it by remaining quiet, without making any movement, for eight months, and in releasing 800 Greek slaves, without requiring ransom, which is very different from the conduct of the Greeks towards myself. The time is not yet arrived for me to yield to the pressure of famine, and I will convince you of it, by conducting you round my magazines. I am not in the situation of European generals, who may capitulate, as in their countries there are laws, customs, and order, that enable them to do so with honour, none of which exist in this country, and under the government I serve: whatever my own wishes may be, I must consult the prejudices of those about me. The pashas who have capitulated did not do so until they were reduced to eat human flesh

and the leaves of trees, but I am not yet reduced to that alternative."

In answer to some questions from Captain Parker requesting to know whether he did not inform the commanding officers of the allied squadron, at their last conference, on the 11th of June, that he was very badly off for provisions, and his troops and officers discontented, and desirous of returning to Egypt; and that the object of his wishing to send a messenger to Alexandria, was to inform his father, Mehemet Ali, of his real situation,—he said it was true.

He explained the late affair with the Albanians from Coron. He acknowledged he had promised not to interfere with them on their retreat across the Morea, but described the recent skirmishes as accidental: he repeated his intention of offering no obstruction to their retreat from Karitena, or to their embarkation at whatever point the commissioners of the Greek government might conduct them.

He refused, or postponed the compliance with, the request of Count Heiden, to exchange four Greeks (who were named) against some Turkish or Arab prisoners, and made several allusions to the corvette that had been detained by Count Heiden. He also alluded, very sarcastically, to the Greek squadron. Many of these remarks, and much irritation that he displayed, were subsequently accounted for, by hearing

that he had mistaken M. de Catacazy, who accompanied Count Heiden, for the President of Greece, Count Capo d'Istria, who he knew to be on board the squadron, from the Greek flag flying at the foremast of the Warspite.

By this time the conversation had become general; and M. de Rigny was talking very earnestly, in a low tone of voice, to the pasha's dragoman, when he suddenly called every one's attention to what he said was an important fact, and might be of service, and desired the dragoman to repeat an answer the pasha had just given him, which was, that he was quite ready and willing to embark and evacuate the Morea, the moment a fleet arrived to carry him away; but that he came in a Turkish ship, and would return in no other; that the conditions could be made, and guarantees for the evacuation given, when the fleet arrived: it would then be time enough to enter into details; but that he was quite ready to go.

On Captain Michell observing (in answer to a remark of Admiral de Rigny, that he had private intelligence that the Pasha of Egypt intended to send vessels in thirty days, to bring away Ibrahim's troops,) that the pasha had held language to him (Captain Michell) which did not tend to confirm such a report, Ibrahim was again asked to declare frankly what answer he had received from Alexandria. He replied, that he should receive an answer in twenty-five days.

M. de Rigny again said, he understood Mehemet had consented to send ships to bring him away in thirty days; to which the pasha replied (turning to M. de Rigny), "if you have such intelligence, why press me any further?"

Sulyman Bey then said, that he spoke in the name of the colonels and chiefs of the army, who were all tired with the service upon which they were employed, and would embark the moment ships arrived for them; and if Ibrahim made any opposition to it, they would bind him hand and foot, and carry him on board. That the answer received yesterday merely desired them to have patience, and care should be taken of them.

This having caused some interruption, during the time that every one was standing, Commodore Campbell told Admiral de Rigny, that Ibrahim must be informed, in order to be aware of the conditions upon which Mehemet's fleet would be allowed to enter Navarino, and of which (condition) nothing had yet been said; that such a step could not be allowed, until sufficient guarantees had been given, both by himself and Mehemet Ali, for the restitution of the Greek slaves, both those in the Morea and those already conveyed to Egypt, as the instructions of the British commodore did not authorise him to close any negociation without these being agreed upon. It was explained, that although it was not positive that

such a condition would be required, it still was one which the government might insist upon, before coming to any decisive engagement; and that he (Commodore Campbell) thought it right not to quit his highness without making him acquainted with it, that if the negociation was renewed, the pasha might not complain of a fresh condition being imposed since the present conference.

M. de Rigny evinced the greatest reluctance to this being communicated to the pasha, and mentioned several objections his highness would make to it; but on being told, such objections had better come from the pasha than any body else, he finally, though very reluctantly, mentioned it to the dragoman.

The pasha protested strongly against it. He said he was perfectly willing to give up all the slaves he had with him in the Morea, but to make such a request for those already conveyed to Egypt, was a blow at their religion and their customs, and would be looked upon as the greatest of exactions, and the grossest injustice; that it would come in contact with their most inveterate prejudices, and would infallibly create confusion and revolution from one end of the country to the other; and that, however willing to give up their own slaves here, they would all rather die than consent to a proposition they deemed so monstrous. That it ought not to be proposed; and was an act of injustice, as regarded the time

of making it, which should have been immediately after the battle of Navarino, and before those slaves had been sent over to Egypt.

The anger evinced by the pasha, which made him walk about the room with his hands lifted up, put an end to the conference; and, after taking leave, the allied officers departed in the same order they arrived, M. de Rigny putting himself at the head, "because," as he said, "he was in *pratique*."

On arriving at the place of embarkation, sheep, poultry, and vegetables, were brought down to the different boats as presents from the pasha: they were, however, rejected.

The British officers embarked on board the Alacrity, which had come close in to receive them, where they were shortly afterwards joined by Count Heiden and his officers. The Russian admiral was in a state of great excitement, having learnt from an *attaché* of M. de Ribeaupierre, who accompanied him, that M. de Rigny had told the pasha, if any conditions were made relative to Mehemet's fleet entering the port of Navarino under convoy of the allied squadron, to object to the Russians forming part of it.

No. III.

Extracts from a Letter written by Captain ARTHUR GREGORY, *relative to the Affairs of Greece in* 1828.

Warspite, Malta, July 26, 1828.

SINCE I wrote to you I have hardly been out of the ship, except on occasional short excursions: we have been principally employed in blockading Navarino, Modon, and Coron: the whole scene was quite new, and very interesting to me. We stopped a great many vessels, and had a regular skirmish with two Turkish corvettes, that would persist in trying to get in: they would have succeeded, as they were close under their own batteries, but from the heavy and well-directed fire from this ship, which in a few minutes longer would have sunk them both; so that, on the whole, I have passed my time very agreeably. We had two conferences with Ibrahim Pasha, both of which, and particularly the second, were highly interesting and curious. The first took place, at his own request, a day or two after the affair with the corvettes. We were conducted in great state through the fortress of Modon, into his camp, to a pavilion, where he passes

his time during the heat of the day. He received us standing, with the chiefs of his army on his left hand; they were in splendid dresses, and had each of them the order of the crescent and star, in diamonds, on their breasts.

The pasha is a large, bulky figure, strongly marked with the small-pox, but with an expression of countenance far from disagreeable: his was a face, however, that I thought at the time must be terrible when his angry passions were roused, and in which I was fully persuaded at our second conference. His beard was very thin and scanty; but whether that was natural, or caused by his having plucked it up by the roots, under the influence of passion, I do not know. His dress was apparently plain, but all the garments were of the richest stuffs; and he wore the finest shawl I ever saw, and which I quite envied him the possession of.

After many compliments, and most tender inquiries respecting our health, and fears that we led a *triste* sort of life in watching him so closely, he offered us pipes and coffee: we refused them on account of the plague. He then sat down, begging us to do the same, and assumed an attitude, leaning on his sword, completely what I remember as a child to have thought the appearance of a grand Turk.

I was very much amused at an expression he used in urging a request to be allowed to send an

officer of distinction to Egypt in one of the ships of the allied squadron. He said, "As manna is not rained down from Heaven, as in ancient times, and the blockade has of late been very strict, I am much straitened for provisions, and my colonels and officers wish to return to Egypt." He was told, that now, as the important nature of the despatches he was anxious to send was known, his wish should be complied with. He then said, he had talked long enough on business, and he was desirous of changing the conversation to something more agreeable; and a regular sort of chit-chat began, which was rather difficult to keep up.

Two days afterwards I embarked in the Rifleman sloop-of-war, which went into Modon, and took on board an officer of Ibrahim's; we sailed for Alexandria, where we arrived in three days, having had a beautiful passage. I was very much amused with all I saw there, so totally different to any thing I had ever seen before.

We had two audiences of the pasha, in his palace, where he comes to pass the day: I was very much amused and diverted at the time he named for our second audience — one hour after sunrise, by which time the old gentleman had come in from his country seraglio, (where our janizary assured us that he had not more than four hundred wives, as all the rest were at Cairo): he had already despatched a good deal of business.

At the gate of the palace were numerous beggars, sitting on the ground. The gaberdines of the men, and the costume of the women, reminded me very forcibly of the scene in which the chorus of Israelites is introduced in "Mose in Egitto." Close to them were the beautiful Arabian chargers of the officers and great men who were with the pasha: their magnificent housings and trappings covered with precious stones and embroidery, and the dress of the Arabs, who were leading them about, formed a very striking contrast to the group of miserable Egyptian beggars.

On mounting a large marble staircase, we met several of the principal officers, Moharem Bey, the Capitan Bey, and others, followed by their pipe-bearers, carrying silver tobacco-boxes, and pipes which had costly amber mouth-pieces, and were studded with precious stones. The antichamber was full of all sorts of officers of state, and others, waiting to pay their court to the pasha. At the door of the grand audience-chamber were the slippers of all the persons who were in attendance. We were preceded thus far by our janizary, but he left us at the door, and we were introduced by the dragoman.

The saloon was very large, and the ceiling gaudily painted and gilt, with no other furniture than a divan of rich silk and gold-embroidered cushions. In one corner, between two windows, the pasha Mehemet Ali sat, cross-legged, on a satin cushion: he had a

magnificent chibouque, or long his mouth, his white beard flowed down to his knees, and he continually stroked it with his hand.

He had the appearance of a mild, amiable, old man. In conversing with him no one would have suspected he was a perfect monster, whose life had been one continued scene of cruelty and perfidy; one who, by an act of almost unparalleled treason, had massacred all the beys of Egypt, when under his roof, with as much unconcern as he received us.

The ministers and officers whose business had not been despatched, were standing before him, without their slippers, with their eyes on the ground, and their hands crossed over their breasts and long beards. He motioned to us to sit down; and on a wave of his hand, the room was soon cleared of every one but the pasha and his body attendants.

After many inquiries about our health, he ordered coffee. One of the officers went to the door, and we heard a loud shouting, that lasted some time, which we were told was to announce to all those who had the honour of preparing and serving coffee for the pasha and his illustrious guests, to bring in a certain number of cups: in a short time an officer entered, carrying something in both his hands, carefully covered over with a richly embroidered satin napkin, preceded by the grand officers of state, with splendid sabres, and large silver-headed canes. After perform-

ing their obeisance to his highness, the napkin was removed, and discovered a large silver salver, with the coffee-pot, and a number of beautiful little china cups, with oval bottoms, and a corresponding quantity of small things like egg-cups, of gold and silver filigree work, studded with precious stones, to hold the china one. The coffee, no doubt, was the finest Mocha; but I thought it horrid stuff, — very thick, and no sugar.

We then tried to get to business with him, which he parried and evaded in every way, telling us anecdotes about himself, and laughing immoderately. Finding all hints and leading questions useless, we were obliged to tell him that, having seen his son a few days ago, he had imparted to us the important nature of his despatches, and led us to hope we might bring back an answer; that the allied admirals would be off Navarino before our return, and would expect an answer. The only thing he would say was, that he could not give any answer under twenty-five days (the time necessary for a Tartar to go to Constantinople and return); and as for the admirals, they would do whatever they had decided upon, whether he sent an answer or not. This was all we could get from him, and we literally extracted it almost by a word at a time.

Finding nothing more could be done with him, we took our leave, and he told us he should send

his chief builder with us, to shew us all over a new harem or palace for his wives, that he is building; as it appears he feels great inconvenience in having so few women with him. The forms and arrangement of the rooms, — the gaudy painting and gilding, — the attendance of men with sabres and turbans, and two or three Ethiopian slaves, put me in mind of a scene out of the Arabian Nights. The baths are quite delicious, and luxurious to a degree; they are all of white marble, with perfuming rooms, &c., and so contrived, that though perfectly well lighted, and exposed to the sea breezes, not a ray of the sun could penetrate. One suite of rooms was fitted up with a dark-coloured paint, which was appropriated for the pasha when in distress. I was very fortunate in seeing all this under such favourable circumstances.

Finding nothing was to be done with Mehemet, and that he was playing his old game, putting forward his dependence, as a vassal, on the Porte, when it did not suit his purpose to act for himself, and firing up when it did, at the supposition of his being in a state of dependence, when it was more convenient to assume an independent attitude, it was decided to have a second interview, quite alone, that is, the Captain of the Rifleman and myself, and if nothing more could be got from him, to sail directly for Navarino. This time he would not say a syllable, except in regular gossip, merely observing, he would send back

an officer, who came down with us, with a letter to his son.

During the time we were with the pasha, La Diligente, French corvette, got under weigh, and sailed, as we supposed, for Milo or Smyrna, as the French commodore sent his despatches for Admiral de Rigny; and the letters for the squadron off Navarino, on board the Rifleman, during the time his corvette was getting up her anchor.

We had a long passage back, owing to the winds that always blow in the Mediterranean at this time of the year: this enabled me to see a great deal of the coast of Asia Minor, Rhodes, and some other of the islands of the Archipelago on that coast, as also the site of several celebrated cities, Candia, and the famous Mount Ida. Between Cerigo and Cape St. Angelo, we had the good fortune to fall in with the Warspite, and I was not sorry to shift to my comfortable cabin in a line-of-battle ship. She was on her way from Paros to Snitika, on the coast of Acarnania, with the president of Greece on board, going to inspect General Church's army, and the state of that part of Greece. The following day we were joined by Count Heiden and M. de Rigny; the latter informed us he was going to Corfu, to join Sir Edward Codrington, and we gave him our letters. On the following day he chased us again, and made a sign to Parker to come alongside in his boat, when, with a most secret and *affairé* manner, he

told us he had just received most important news from Egypt by La Diligente, that Mehemet had consented to withdraw his troops from the Morea, and would send ships for them in a month, but that he could not give up the fortresses, which belonged to the grand signior; that a brig had been despatched to France with these propositions, and that he thought of going on shore at Modon, and of having an interview with Ibrahim.

As soon as Parker could edge in a word, for M. de Rigny has a regular French tongue, he told him our intelligence was quite the reverse; and I detailed all that had taken place with the pasha: it was told him, that little reliance could be placed in promises made, or intelligence that was withheld from an officer sent down in the name of the allies, but which was communicated to one of the three powers separately. With regard to the interview, he talked of going alone: he was told he had better wait until the Russian admiral and British commander, who were in sight, had joined: he appeared quite struck, and said, in that case he should go direct on to Corfu; he was, however, persuaded to wait: a flag of truce was sent in, and a conference fixed for the next day. Early in the morning the three allied squadrons stood close in with Modon, and lay to: it was one of the most interesting and picturesque sights I ever witnessed: there were twenty-three men-of-war, including seven sail of the line, and six or eight large frigates.

The coast of the Morea is very fine and bold, with high mountains in the background in every direction. A little to our left was Navarino, with a half-destroyed line-of-battle ship and some corvettes in the harbour; in front of us, almost within musket-shot, the fortress of Modon and the Turkish camp, crowded with troops assembled in clusters to look at the ships: the large green marquees of the officers had a very pretty effect. Whilst we were assembled on board the flag-ship, a Turkish man-of-war was brought in by one of the cruisers, and the captain sent to the Azoff to decide upon what was to be done with him. On being shewn into the cabin, he did not change a muscle: he was upwards of six feet high, with an enormous beard. Although in an enemy's ship, and threatened by the Russian, it had not the slightest effect upon him: the important gravity of the Turks is astonishing, as, by constant habit, it appears impossible for them to relax their muscles so as to afford the slightest index of what is passing in their minds.

We were followed into Modon by the Alacrity sloop, and were received on the beach by the pasha's principal officers and the band; the troops were drawn up on each side from the landing place to the camp. Preceded by these uncouth fellows and their barbarous music, we were conducted to the same pavilion where we had been received at the first conference. Ibrahim was more splendidly dressed than before; the rest of the cere-

mony was the same, and the same Turkish chiefs were present. The object of our interview was, to find out what answer had been received from Mehemet by the Turkish officer who came back in the Rifleman, and to afford an opportunity to Ibrahim of making any propositions for retiring, if he should be so disposed.

He gave two or three contradictory and evasive answers; but on being pressed, particularly by Captain Parker, who reminded him what he had said at the first conference, relative to the nature of the despatches sent down to Egypt, Ibrahim admitted that the answer was, that no reply could be given under twenty-five days.

M. de Rigny endeavoured, by leading questions, and every means, to obtain answers from the pasha that would give an appearance of correctness to his private intelligence from Alexandria. When the captain of the Rifleman and myself stated what had passed between Mehmet Ali and ourselves, and observed how very little reliance could be placed on private information obtained under such circumstances, Admiral de Rigny was very much offended.

To the intimation of Count Heiden, that probably troops would soon be landed, Ibrahim replied by giving the Russian admiral a look of defiance, grasping his sabre, and declaring his determination and readiness to die at his post, saying he could die but once.

To remonstrances on the absurdity of holding out against famine, he offered to give us a proof that he

was not yet so far reduced, by conveying us round his magazines. He argued very sensibly on the difference between himself, the servant of a government without order or regularity, and an officer of a well-ordered European country. He spoke of the necessity, whatever his own opinion and condition might be, of consulting the prejudices of those about him. He said that none of the pashas who had capitulated had done so till they had been reduced to eat the leaves of trees, and human flesh: this last observation he accompanied by a strong gesture, putting his bare arm between his teeth. He said he was quite ready to go, whenever ships were sent for him; but that he came in Turkish ships, and would return in no other. All at once, one of the chiefs stood up and said, looking at the pasha, who seemed very much astonished, "The fact is, we are all tired to death with this business; we came to fight, and not to be starved; and the very moment any ships come for us, we will embark. I speak in the name of the chiefs and of the whole army; if he (pointing to Ibrahim,) offer any opposition, we will bind him hand and foot, and carry him on board: the answer we received yesterday from Egypt merely desired us to have patience, and we should be taken care of."

This burst caused great surprise, and we were all looking to see what would follow. The pasha gave him a look of scorn, and, turning his back to him, began playing with a string of pearl beads he had in his

hand. During the pause which followed, an officer told M. de Rigny, that it was quite idle talking about ships coming to carry Ibrahim and his army away, as no fleet would be allowed to enter Navarino until some guarantees were given for the conditions, and, among them, that the Greek slaves must be released, those in the Morea, as well as those that had been sent over to Egypt; and that although it was not positive that the latter would be insisted upon, still, as it was possible such a condition might be required by the government, it was proper to inform Ibrahim of it now, that if the negotiation should be renewed, and such a stipulation required, he might not complain of its never having been mentioned to him before.

By a most unaccountable perverseness, M. de Rigny objected to any thing of the sort being mentioned, and kept saying that such and such objections would be made by Ibrahim; and it was almost in vain to tell him that very possibly they would, but that they would come better from the pasha than any one else, and would prepare the way for their being insisted upon, if the governments should think proper. The French admiral's conduct was the more extraordinary, because the evening before our first conference, when off Navarino, (and then he thought it better to let his senior captain go there to present himself,) he was told, in his own cabin on board the Conquerant, by Captain Parker, that if Ibrahim had requested to open any

negotiations relative to his evacuating the Morea, he (Parker) should mention the releasing of the slaves in Egypt as one of the conditions, and if objected to by the pasha, should directly break up the interview, as his instructions did not allow him to conclude any thing without that condition.

M. de Rigny, on that occasion, desired me to tell Captain Parker that he was perfectly right, and that he himself had the same orders from his own court. As, however, our officers insisted upon it, it was communicated to the pasha. The immediate change that took place in his countenance and manner is indescribable; from a mildness and courtesy, with the exception of an occasional display of irritation towards Count Heiden, he became a perfect fury, started up from his chair, and, pacing up and down the room until he became covered with perspiration, talking vehemently, and repeatedly lifting up his hands, calling out Allah, Allah (God); in short, he seemed quite frantic. What he said was curious; and although I fear you will think me very prosy and boring, I will repeat it, as far as I can recollect.

He protested against the condition; he was perfectly willing to give up all the slaves he had with him in the Morea, but to require those already conveyed to Egypt was a blow at their religion and customs, and would be looked upon as the greatest exaction and grossest injustice; it would come in contact with their

most inveterate prejudices, and would infallibly create confusion and revolution from one end of the country to the other, and that they would all rather die than consent to a proposition they deemed monstrous — it ought not to be proposed, and was an act of injustice as regarded the time of making it, which ought to have been immediately after the battle of Navarino, and before the slaves had been sent over; that we allowed him to send them over, and now they had become private property asked for them; that a female once married or appropriated by a Mussulman, he thought his honour concerned that she should never be seen by any other man: his mode of expressing this was very quaint.

This broke up the conference: M. de Rigny was so much annoyed, that he did not take leave of any one. On our arrival at the beach there were sheep, poultry, and vegetables, as presents, to prove, I suppose, that he was not in want of provisions: they were, of course, all refused.

We embarked on board the Alacrity, when we were shortly afterwards joined by Count Heiden and the Russian diplomatists, who had accompanied him on shore: he was in a great fury, having just heard from an *attaché* of M. Ribeaupierre, who understood Turkish, that, during the conference, the dragoman had told the pasha, De Rigny advised him, if the Egyptian fleet were allowed to enter Navarino under convoy of the allied

squadron, to object to the Russians forming part of it. The old admiral was so indignant when he heard it, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could prevent him from rowing alongside the Frenchman's barge and demanding an explanation.

Thus the conference ended, in which two of the parties of alliance returned fully persuaded of the insincerity of the third. To our great surprise, soon after dinner, *M. de Rigny* came alongside in perfect good humour, saying, he had drawn up a protocol of the proceedings, to be signed for the different governments. Shortly after, old Count Heiden came on board; I happened to be on the quarter deck; he took me by the hand, swearing in his English most furiously, saying that the Frenchman had drawn up a paper full of lies, and made the English hold language they never uttered; in fact, Admiral de Rigny had drawn up his protocol so worded as to throw any consequence of a failure, and not coming to any conclusion, upon the British officers, and Ibrahim's answers, so as to square with the version he wished to be believed of Mehemet Ali's intentions. It was, however, immediately altered, and, on the alterations being shewn to him, he said they were *charmantes*, forgot all his sulkiness, and took leave of us all with the greatest humour.

I have been thus particular in giving you details which, I fear, will bore you, as I cannot help thinking that the French government are playing a game very

much at variance with the common interest of the alliance in which they are engaged. Some impute the strange conduct of the French officers and agents to the meddling, intriguing character of their admiral; but if it were that alone, it might, indeed, have lasted a short time, but as soon (as soon it inevitably must) become known to the French government, it would have been stopped, had it not been in conformity with their views. Their conduct during the blockade was very extraordinary, particularly the day of the Warspite's affair with the corvettes, when a French brig of war that was nearer to them than we were, as soon as our fire opened, made sail, and went away before the wind to the N.W.

They had been coquetting with Egypt for years, always with the same agent, M. Drovetti; and every thing we heard at Alexandria tended to confirm these suspicions, which are not lessened by the very extraordinary conduct of M. de Rigny on the 6th, the French consul sending off separate propositions to his government, and the pasha conceding to him what he refused to the officer sent down in the name of the allies (the captain of the Rifleman). These impressions were further strengthened by M. de Rigny not shewing the letter brought by la Diligente, whose destination, on sailing from Alexandria, was attempted to be concealed from us. Most probably his withdrawing his troops from the Peloponnesus, formed only a part of M. Dro-

vetti's communications to his admiral; the rest, no doubt, was not fit for the allies of France to see.

The sight at Modon was very interesting and curious. On the one side were the two admirals and one commodore (Campbell), with many of their officers, and almost within musket-shot of their numerous and well-appointed ships; on the other these barbarians, hardly worthy the name of soldiers, weak and inefficient, and badly appointed. Yet weeks and months have passed away; and although there is no doubt they are straitened for provisions, and would be very glad to return, the obstinacy they evince on the score of the slaves in Egypt throws great difficulty in the way of coming to any agreement, as it is to be hoped, for humanity's sake, they will not be allowed to keep them. It is a melancholy reflection, that with our numerous ships, they should have been allowed, even after the dispersion of their fleet by the battle of Navarino, to carry off so many poor creatures from their families, to undergo cruelties too dreadful to think of without shuddering. The slaves are almost all boys and young women; and the consul at Alexandria told me he could not, after the strictest enquiry, rate them at fewer than near four thousand.

Had the ports of the Morea been blockaded from the moment of the battle of Navarino, Ibrahim would have been starved out months before; as the whole winter he was supplied by Ionians, Athenians, and

neutrals of every nation. It was not until the Warspite came before Navarino, in March, and that entirely on the responsibility of Captain Parker, who had no orders, that the least attempt was made to cut off his supplies. Whoever it is that has been to blame for allowing all this, which every one thinks must arise from a want of decision of the cabinets, they, I hope, will incur the odium. The battle of Navarino appears to have turned every one's head that was in it, as, instead of that total destruction of the fleet that was generally believed, the greater part had got to Alexandria or Candia; at least five large frigates and a line-of-battle ship are at the former, with a host of small fry, corvettes, brigs, &c.; in fact the harbour was full of men-of-war. At Candia there are some also.

I have seen a great deal of the President of Greece, and found him a very well-informed, amusing man, full of anecdotes of the world and of the great characters with whom the greater part of his life has been passed. But I must confess, although in general very open and frank, with the good sense of not making a mystery of what it cannot do any mischief to make known, I can hardly look upon him in any other light than as an agent of Russia, though every allowance is to be made for old association, and the effective support furnished by that country to Greece in every way, money, ammunition, &c., whilst our own policy has been uncertain, apparently more guided by caprice than

any fixed principles, which may perhaps have arisen from the frequent change of ministry.

Count Capo d'Istrias has done a great deal for Greece, but there is much, almost every thing to be recognised; and when Ibrahim goes, as he must shortly, if the allies do not fall out, his difficulties will require no ordinary degree of talent and patience to overcome. By means principally of this ship he has got possession of some of the strongest holds, and has turned out the robbers and pirates, under the name of Capitani, who had possession of them. There is not a single Greek upon whom the president can rely; he is feared by them all, because the allies support him; but he is as much hated as feared: at the moment of disunion between the three powers, every thing would relapse into the state of anarchy from which it is gradually escaping.

No. IV.

[I consider the Yaftas so illustrative of the Turkish mode of dispensing justice, that I here give translations of three others, that relate to some of those who were executed during the troubles of 1829.]

I.

Translation of a Yafta placed upon the body of Deli Salih, a Slave Merchant.

DELI SALIH, a slave merchant, through the malice and perversity that are innate in him, having dared to spread false and seditious reports, and to advance that there existed in the Russian army twenty thousand men of the janisary corps, which, with the general assent of the nation, had been previously annihilated; and his crime having been evidenced by the testimony of several Mussulmans, it has been judged necessary, for example's sake, that the impure body of this wretch, author of so many disorders, should be removed from the surface of the earth, for which reason the above-named Salih has undergone capital punishment in this manner.

II.

Yafta on the body of Ismail, a Caféji.

THE wretched Ismail, the son of Suleiman, who kept a coffee-house Coum Capi, belonged to the 64th company of the corps of janisaries suppressed, was banished to Rodosto, being a partisan of that body, in punishment for his crimes, by order of the Sublime Porte, who thus shewed great clemency towards him.

Ismail, however, during his banishment, hesitated not to make use of seditious language, and to speak of whatever came into his head, saying, that the Ottoman people had risen to re-establish the janisaries; that the palace and person of the Seraskier Pasha had been attacked; and, not satisfied with this, at a moment when it was most eminently necessary for every good Mussulman to obey the constituted authorities, Ismail returned to Constantinople, without any permission whatever, spread a thousand false reports, tending to alarm the Ottoman subjects, which wise and good men do not even listen to. Being interrogated upon his arrest, Ismail was unable to deny any of these accusations. In consequence whereof, seeing that he is an incorrigible man, and that the government is forced to take the severest measures, as well against the inventors of such false rumours, as against those who, instead of quietly following their avocations, dare to repeat them, Ismail has been punished in the manner you see, to serve as an example.

III.

Yafta on the body of Hassan, a boot-maker.

THE wretch Hassan, a member of the corporation of boot-makers, belonged to the 71st company of that detestable military corps, that has been destroyed with the assent of the whole nation. Having heard in these latter days, the false reports which the disturbers of the public peace, men of his own class, have dared to utter, this miscreant has uncovered his arms, and displayed with vanity before the public the odious marks called *nishauns*,* which were there imprinted. He has, moreover, dared to hold improper language, and to spread (may the Most High preserve us from them!) a thousand wicked and false notions, which it is unlawful to entertain. When this was heard of, he was arrested, and the following reproaches addressed to him: "Hassan, thou hadst a trade to follow; couldst thou not occupy thyself in gaining thy livelihood by industry, and conduct thyself in a peaceable and becoming manner?" Hassan could deny nothing, and confessed every thing. In consequence, and because this man is an old offender, who, as it appears, is quite incorrigible, he has thus undergone capital punishment.

* *Nishauns*, marks worn on the arm by the janisaries, to denote the regiments to which they belonged. They were pricked in with gunpowder, in the same manner as is practised by our sailors.

No. V.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY AND THE SUBLIME PORTE, SIGNED JANUARY 5, 1809.

" *Au nom de Dieu très miséricordieux.*

" L'OBJET de cet instrument fidèle et authentique est ce qui suit:—

" Nonobstant les apparences d'une mésintelligence survenue à la suite des événemens du tems entre la Cour de la Grande Bretagne et la Sublime Porte Ottomane, ces deux puissances, également arrivées au désir sincère de rétablir l'ancienne amitié qui subsistoit entr'elles, ont nommé, pour cet effet, leurs plénipotentiaires respectifs ; savoir, sa Majesté le très auguste et très honoré George III. Roi (Padishah) du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, a nommé pour son plénipotentiaire Robert Adair, Ecuyer, Membre du Parlement Impérial de la Grande Bretagne; et sa Majesté le très majestueux, très puissant, et très magnifique Sultan Mahmoud Han II., Empereur des Ottomans, a nommé pour son plénipotentiaire Sejid Mehemmed Emir Vahid Efendi, directeur et inspecteur du département appelé Mercoufat, et revêtu du rang de Nichanji du divan impérial ; lesquels

s'étant réciproquement communiqués leurs pleins pouvoirs, ont, après plusieurs conférences et discussions, conclu la paix également désirée des deux puissances, et sont convenus des articles suivans.

" ARTICLE I.—Du moment de la signature du présent traité, tout acte d'hostilité doit cesser entre l'Angleterre et la Turquie; et les prisonniers de part et d'autre doivent, en vertu de cette heureuse paix, être échangés, sans hésitation, en trente-et-un jours après l'époque de la signature de ce traité, ou plutôt si faire se pourra.

" ARTICLE II.—S'il se trouvera des places appartenantes à la Sublime Porte dans l'occupation de la Grande Bretagne, elles devront être restitutées et remises à la Sublime Porte, avec tous les canons, munitions, et autres effets, dans la même condition où elles se trouvaient lors de leur occupation par l'Angleterre; et cette restitution devra se faire dans l'espace de trente-et-un jours après la signature de ce présent traité.

" ARTICLE III.—S'il y auraient des effets et propriétés appartenans aux négocians Anglais en séquestre sous la jurisdiction de la Sublime Porte, ils doivent être entièrement rendus et remis aux propriétaires; et pareillement s'il y auraient des effets, propriétés, et vaisseaux, appartenans aux négocians et sujets de la Sublime Porte, en séquestre à Malthe, ou dans les autres îles et états de sa Majesté Bri-

tannique ils doivent être également entièrement rendus et remis à leurs propriétaires.

"ARTICLE IV.—Le traité des capitulations stipulés en l'année Turque mil quatre-vingt-six, à la mi de la lune Gemmaziel Ahir, ainsi que l'acte rélatif au commerce de la Mer Noire, et les autres privilèges (imtiazat) également établis par des actes à des époques subséquentes, doivent être observés et maintenus comme par le passé, comme s'ils n'avaient souffert aucune interruption.

"ARTICLE V.—En vertu du bon traitement et de la faveur accordé par la Sublime Porte aux négocians Anglais, à l'égard de leurs marchandises et propriétés, et par rapport à tout ce dont leurs vaisseaux ont besoin, ainsi que dans tous les objets tendant à faciliter leur commerce; l'Angleterre accordera réciproquement à pleine faveur, et un traitement amical aux pavillons sujets et négocians de la Sublime Porte, qui dorénavant fréquenteront les états de sa Majesté Britannique, pour y exercer le commerce.

"ARTICLE VI.—Le tarif de la douane, qui a été fixé à Constantinople en dernier lieu sur l'ancien taux de trois pour cent, et spécialement l'article qui regarde le commerce intérieur, seront observés pour toujours ainsi qu'ils ont été réglés; ce à quoi l'Angleterre promet de se conformer.

"ARTICLE VII.—Les ambassadeurs de sa Ma-

jesté le Roi de la Grande Brétagne jouiront pleinement des honneurs dont jouissent les ambassadeurs des autres nations près la Sublime Porte; et réciproquement les ambassadeurs de la Sublime Porte près la cour de Londres jouiront pleinement de tous les honneurs qui seront accordés aux ambassadeurs de la Grande Brétagne.

"ARTICLE VIII.—Il sera permis de nommer des Shahbenders (consuls) à Malthe et dans les états de sa Majesté Britannique où il sera nécessaire pour gérer et inspecter les affaires et les intérêts des négocians de la Sublime Porte; et les mêmes traitemens et immunités qui sont pratiqués envers les consuls d'Angleterre, résidents dans les états Ottomans, seront exactement observés envers les Shahbenders de la Sublime Porte.

"ARTICLE IX. — Les ambassadeurs et consuls d'Angleterre pourront, selon l'usage, se servir des dragomans dont ils ont besoin; mais comme il a été arrêté ci-devant d'un commun accord que la Sublime Porte n'accordera point de Barat de dragoman en faveur d'individus qui n'exerceront point cette fonction dans le lieu de leur destination, il est convenu, conformément à ce principe, que dorénavant il ne sera accordé de Barat à personne de la classe des artisans et banquiers, ni à quiconque tiendra de boutique et de fabrique dans les marchés publics, ou

qui prêtera la main aux affaires de cette nature; et il ne sera pas nommé non plus des consuls Anglais d'entre les sujets de la Sublime Porte.

" ARTICLE X.—La patente de protection Anglaise ne sera accordée à personne d'entre les dépendans et négocians sujets de la Sublime Porte, et il ne sera livré à ceux-ci aucun passeport de la part des ambassadeurs ou consuls sans la permission préalable de la Sublime Porte.

" ARTICLE XI.—Comme il a été de tout tems défendu aux vaisseaux de guerre d'entrer dans le canal de Constantinople; savoir, dans le détroit des Dardanelles, et dans celui de la Mer Noire, et comme cette ancienne règle de l'empire Ottoman doit être de même observée dorénavant en tems de paix, vis-à-vis de toute puissance quelconque, la cour Britannique promet aussi de se conformer à ce principe.

" ARTICLE XII.—Les ratifications du présent traité de paix, entre les hautes parties contractantes, seront échangées à Constantinople, dans l'espace de quatre-vingt-onze jours depuis la date du présent traité, ou plutôt si faire se pourra.

" En foi de quoi, &c.

" (Signé)

" SEJID MEHEMMED, Emir Vahid Efendi.

" Fait près des Châteaux des Dardanelles, le 5 Janvier 1809, qui correspond à l'an de l'Hégire 1223, le 19 de la lune Zilhoadé."

No. VI.

Extracts from a private Letter, relative to a Journey from Constantinople to Semlin.

THINKING my readers would like to know the nature of a journey from Constantinople to the Austrian frontier, I here give the following extracts from a letter, which one of my friends wrote home from the quarantine houses at Semlin. I have only given the traveller's account of his trip from Adrianople, because my own journal will give the necessary information of the greater portion of the country lying between that city and the Turkish capital.

" —— The next morning, at about seven o'clock, we quitted Adrianople, and, after two hours' ride, we came to a very curious ancient khan. I had neither pencil nor paper ready, or I should have endeavoured to take a sketch of it, particularly on account of its very extraordinary architecture. It is allowed to go to ruin, as every other institution, civil or political, in Turkey.

We here left the Maritza, which we only rejoined four hours before Philippopoli, and turned off by the most abominable road, over some hills to the left.

After crossing them with the greatest difficulty, fearing lest our horses might drop every instant, we arrived at a valley, by far the best cultivated and richest-looking we had yet met with; several water-mills, and extensive flocks and herds, proved it to belong to some rich proprietor. Among the flocks I observed an immense number of the most beautiful goats I ever beheld; their hair was long and silky, and of a bright fawn colour. I subsequently ascertained at Philippopoli, that these goats were principally bred for the sake of their skins, from which the morocco leather is prepared. Philippopoli supplies almost all Germany with this article of trade.

In this plain our guide's horse dropped, and we left the fellow in a Bulgarian village on the road, and went on by ourselves to the post town. We arrived there about six in the evening. The post-master very good-naturedly shared his room with us: it was somewhat better than the coffee-house. He was certainly the handsomest man I ever saw: about five-and-thirty, with a black silky beard, reaching to his middle. Luckily he had better horses than we had hitherto found, and we went off briskly, at about five in the morning, having ten hours to perform to reach Philippopoli.

On our road we continually met immense caravans of carts, drawn by buffalos, returning from Philip-

popoli, where the peasants had been for the first time for some months, to procure necessaries for their families, the operations of the war having prevented any intercourse between the detached villages and the towns. We also occasionally met parties of Turkish soldiers; and we saw, in carts very much resembling those which in England convey beasts from one fair to another, the harams of several Turkish chiefs returning from Shumla. The Turks had preferred making the circuit of Philippopoli, rather than fall in with the Russians stationed at Selimno, Ianboli, and Karnabat. A vast deal of chattering ensued at our appearance; and the Turkish ladies, rather more free on their march than at home, did us the honour to uncover their faces. They might as well have kept their veils on, for the features we saw would certainly have better been concealed.

At noon we stopped at a Bulgarian village, where our Tartar found an acquaintance. In the small hut were four generations housed. The women's dress is by no means unbecoming: a young mother and her sister, a girl of about eighteen, were really very pretty. They were much ornamented with rings, and very curious massive silver bracelets, representing two fishes (dolphins), joined at their heads and tails. The old women boiled a large pan of buffalo's milk (which is excellent) for us, and poached us some eggs;

so that by the time our horses had rested, we were quite ready to start again, although the snow now fell rather thick.

After four hours we arrived at a Turkish village, where we intended putting up for the night, as my fellow-traveller was rather fatigued, his saddle being very uncomfortable. We however found every hole filled with the retainers of a pasha on his march. We therefore turned off to the left, to a Bulgarian village, about half an hour's ride from the high road, in the hopes of finding accommodation. While yet at a distance, we could see the people occupied about their houses; but scarcely had we approached, before the village became as it were deserted. The men fled, the women locked their houses and barricaded the doors. The fire remained unextinguished in the ovens; in some of them the bread was baking, but not a human being was to be seen. To account for this, I ought to observe, that we had Turkish cloaks and caps on, so that our party was mistaken for part of the retinue of the pasha; and as these gentry take every thing without payment, beat the peasantry, and ill use the women, it is not surprising that so sudden a panic should have seized every one. We had subsequently but too often occasion to observe the terror which these poor people shew on the approach of their masters.

My Tartar had forced open a cottage without my

knowledge; and the tears of the poor women who inhabited it shocked me very much. I gave them some money, but could not make up my mind to stay where I had witnessed such a scene; so having persuaded my fellow-traveller to push on, we proceeded towards Philippopoli. In the mean time the sun had set; and as we advanced, the cold became intense. The roads, which had been partially thawed, were now frozen again, and, with their ruts and holes, became very dangerous.

At nine o'clock, when about one hour from Philipopoli, our horses knocked up, having performed above fifty miles that day; luckily, a small Turkish coffee-house offered us shelter; but we were obliged to lie down pell mell with a dozen Turks.

We here found a Greek merchant of Philippopoli, who anxiously inquired about the particulars of the treaty. He said: "And has nothing been done for us? What will become of us?" He spoke German; his partner being permitted to live at Vienna, on leaving his house, wife, children, and property, as guarantees for his return, in the hands of the Turks. We asked him if he could recommend us to a house where we could be lodged for a day or two, as I intended to rest a little; but he answered in the negative. Next morning I was very well satisfied that we had not entered Philippopoli at night. Its situation is so very extraordinary, that I should have been extremely

sorry not to have seen the approach to it. In an immense plain, watered by the Maritza, you see three rocky elevations, perhaps 800 to 1000 feet high, totally unconnected with any range of hills, the nearest being fifteen miles distant. On the sides of these the town of Philippopoli is built. Like all Turkish towns, it is very picturesque at a distance.

Sallying forth from our night's lodging, we found ourselves in the middle of the suite of the camp of Mustapha Pasha. He and his 25,000 Albanians had only left it about a fortnight; and thousands of crows, vultures, and half-starved dogs, were tearing the carcasses of dead horses and cattle from under the snow.

We next passed through extensive burying-grounds, and entered the town (which is only defended by a miserable mud wall,) about nine in the morning. We immediately found ourselves up to our horses' bellies in that vile mud which disgraces every Turkish town, and picked our way with the greatest difficulty to the pasha's residence, where, on exhibition of our firman, a Turkish guard was sent with us to quarter us in some respectable house.

We proceeded up the rock, and arrived at a part where the houses, being built of stone, had a somewhat better appearance, though we could not but remark the paucity of windows towards the streets. It was the Christian quarter.

On arriving at the house which was destined for us, we found it barricaded, and shrill women's voices from within refused us admittance. It was not till several Greeks of respectable appearance had repeatedly assured the garrison that we were not Turks, and after we had been carefully surveyed from divers loop-holes, that a back-door was opened, and our whole party admitted into the spacious court-yard of a good house. The mistress, a very respectable-looking, middle-aged woman, seemed still very much alarmed; but after we became better acquainted, she asked our pardon for having kept us waiting; stating, that latterly so many Turks had been quartered upon her, who had robbed her, and ill-used her family, that she had determined to resist similar visitations. A large, roomy apartment, on the ground-floor, was given up to us, cushions were laid round it, and we soon arranged ourselves in our new domicile. To my great amusement, our hostess proved to be the wife of the Greek merchant at Vienna, whose partner we had met the day before, and who said he could not procure us lodgings.

During the evening we received the visits of a French quack-doctor, of a Greek schoolmaster, who spoke French and Italian, and several traders, besides our friend of the day before. The tenor of their inquiries was always the same; viz.—the political state of the country. Repeatedly they asked us,

whether nothing had been done for the Christian population of Turkey? I pointed out to them the impossibility of interfering in the interior administration of every part of the grand signior's dominions, and ventured to hope that the Ottoman government would now of itself see the necessity of placing their Christian subjects upon an equality with the Osmanlis. Upon which, a young man, the brother of the master of the house, could not contain his tears, and exclaimed, "Oh, why did God permit me to be born on this side the Danube? Here is hell, on the other heaven." I felt much for these poor people, but of course could not recommend to them the line of conduct which I should have been inclined to follow myself, viz. to trample the oppressor under foot.

The French quack amused me greatly; his adventures would really furnish materials for a good novel. We engaged him as a cicerone for my fellow-traveller, who intended examining the town minutely after my departure, on the following day. We slept, as every body does in this country, on the cushions, in our clothes, so that I was obliged to give up every chance of a bed till I should arrive at Semlin.

At noon, on the same evening, I parted from my fellow-traveller, who intended staying two more days, and then proceeding by Ternova to Shumla. I was able to shew myself thankful to our hostess for receiving us, by promising to forward a letter she gave me to

her husband at Vienna. Of course, I reimbursed her for every expense which our visit had occasioned.

I rode melancholy enough for the first three hours through vast rice-fields, which were terminated, at about fifteen to thirty miles distance, by the snow-covered mountain usually called the Balcan, and certainly expected that the remainder of my journey would prove very dull, as I had now no companion but my Tartar and my guide. I was, however, soon undeceived. At a small coffee-house, three hours from Philippopoli, I overtook M. ———, Courier du Cabinet de S. M. le Roi de France, "qui avait fait ses épreuves, il y a trente-cinq ans, avec la grande armée," fifty-five years old, and weighing eighteen stone at least. Such a caricature of a king's messenger I never beheld. He had left Constantinople three days and a half after me, and had overtaken me in consequence of my stay at Adrianople and Philippopoli. If I were in want of conversation before, I certainly had plenty of it now; that is to say, if listening to the disjointed chat of a Gascon can be called conversation. I let the old man talk; it was always pleasanter to have a companion, on a journey like the one I was engaged in, than to be alone; so I determined, if possible, to keep up with him, which I had very little doubt of doing, owing to his corpulency, and the little speed he had hitherto made from Constantinople. My leg was very bad, an old shot wound

having re-opened; but as I could gain nothing by staying on the road, I determined to push on to where I might be able to procure surgical assistance. A little after six we reached Tatar Bazarjik, the post-town, having made about twenty-one miles since noon, through the most horrible roads.

We found better accommodation at the post-house than usual, and determined to start at four the next morning, it not being possible for us to proceed that night, as the governor of the place insisted upon giving us an escort, the road being very dangerous; and the cavalry having only just come in, it would be necessary to let their horses rest for six or eight hours. The fat courier shewed himself very eager for this protection; and I at first could not imagine what made an old hero of the grande armée so very solicitous about the safety of his person. A few days afterwards I discovered the secret.

During the course of the evening a young Greek merchant from Constantinople came in. He had been two years a resident at Tatar Bazarjik, in the hopes of inducing the aga of that place to pay his family a large sum which he owed them for goods delivered; but in vain. In the mean time his father died, and my Tartar brought him the letter containing the intelligence. The grief of the young man was very great. Another curse upon the head of this hard-hearted generation, thought I; and soon, I hope, the weight of all their

long-accumulated sins will bow this once proud nation down to the dust.

The next day we set forward at five o'clock, our party being augmented by five stout troopers, armed to the teeth. As daylight began to appear, we approached the mountains. At the foot of the Balcan we stopped at a small Bulgarian village for food. A ride of eighteen miles, without any thing to eat, had sharpened our appetites; but we were on the point of being disappointed. The village was deserted, and the houses barricaded, at our approach; and I could not prevent our escort from forcing an entrance into one hut. The alarmed females, very good-looking young women, set up a most alarming outcry, which we, however, soon stopped, by making a liberal distribution of piasters among the children. Eggs, cheese, bread, and curds, then made their appearance, and we parted on the best terms.

While I was in this village I had occasion to remark on the singular abstinence practised by the votaries of the Greek church during their fasts. For four weeks before Christmas, and forty days before Easter, they touch nothing but bread, roots, or ears of Indian corn; no milk, no eggs, no fish, no cheese. In fact, it is surprising how they can follow their several laborious avocations with the food to which they are confined. I offered a half-starved brat a bit of cheese and bread, when the mother, in the utmost

horror, snatched it away, and would not permit the poor child to touch it.

We now commenced ascending rather a steep mountain; a safe carriage-road could, however, be easily made: this applies to the whole distance from Constantinople to Belgrade. After about an hour's ride, we reached the first summit, on which stands an ancient Roman archway. Close by is a Turkish guard-house, where our horses were all furnished with spikes to their shoes, to enable them to walk safe through the mountains, the roads being covered with ice.

The iron of Turkey is so very good, that their nails and horse-shoes are forged without fire; another of the valuable blessings bestowed upon this country by Providence, of which the barbarous inhabitants scarcely avail themselves.

We continued ascending and descending for about five hours longer, when we finally emerged in a plain of about ten miles in diameter, in which stands the little post-town of Ichtiman. As it was only half-past four when we arrived there, we determined on proceeding, but were prevented by the want of horses; and, as none came in till seven o'clock, we were obliged to delay our departure till two in the morning. We accomplished twelve Turkish hours this day.

My leg was so inflamed here, that I cut off my stocking, and trousers below the knee; and determined, by the advice of the courier, to ride on in my boot

and poultice. I had every reason to be satisfied with this arrangement. At three in the morning, on the 21st, we resumed our journey; and after having traversed the plain in which Ichtiman stands, began to ascend the second range of mountains. The scenery in these passes would be very pretty if the trees were of a larger size; but we scarcely saw any one larger than what we should call a shrub, and yet all were oak.

We were obliged to content ourselves with a cup of Turkish coffee, in one of the guard-houses, for our breakfast, and proceeded at a brisk trot into the plain of Sophia, which presented the same features, viz. signs of the greatest fertility, and of very scanty cultivation.

We arrived at Sophia at half-past twelve, having accomplished twelve hours; we accordingly flattered ourselves that we should be able to go at least six more, but were again most grievously mistaken. In the stables of the post-house were thirty horses, but all at the point of death; it was morally impossible to get them alive through the next stage to Rockoy, which was sixteen hours distant. We sent to the Tartar aga, and exhibited our firman to the pasha, who told us that we were at liberty to kill as many of the thirty horses as we chose, but better ones could not be had till night, and that it would be dangerous to proceed in the dark, as we had to

cross a rapid and rather deep river three times. As I had no special reason for wishing to get on, I thought it foolish to run any risk, merely for the sake of not leaving my companion: it seemed, however, that he also had weighty reasons for not wishing to wet his baggage, of which more anon; so we both agreed to stay.

The Tartar aga shewed me the most beautiful Arabian I had yet seen in Turkey. I do not think any of the sultan's horses to be compared to it. How I wished myself on his back, instead of wearying myself by spurring and thumping the wretched animals I usually strode!

They gave us a miserable room at the post-house; and having endeavoured to warm it with pans of charcoal, we went to sleep. In the middle of the night I awoke, by feeling nearly suffocated. All I could do was to reach the door, and to force it open and let in the cold night air. It was well I did so; in another moment I should have fainted. I found the French messenger black in the face; but the fresh air soon recovered him. This is a very common occurrence in Turkey, where, from the constant use of charcoal, you frequently find the inmates of a house dead in the morning.

The weather was any thing but promising: a cold drizzling rain bid us prepare for a most uncomfortable day's ride, and so we truly found it. On leaving the town, of which, by the by, I have said nothing, as

nothing can be said, we were encountered by a furious north wind, which cut us nearly in two, and which very soon changed the rain to hail. This it drove with such astonishing violence into our faces, that mine was literally cut open in several places.

We forded the river in safety, though after considerable difficulty; and on arriving at a Turkish coffee-house, six hours' distant from Sophia, my *capote* presented a surface of ice at least an inch thick, engendered by the rain, hail, frost, and river water. Here we staid an hour to refresh ourselves, and then proceeded to ascend the third range of mountains.

The scenery was extremely barren and sterile, although there were some picturesque rocks, perhaps six or seven hundred feet high, on one side of the brook we followed. All along this torrent we found small miserable huts, inhabited by Sclavonians; and the language, as well as the dress, underwent a very perceptible change, though we did not enter Servia till thirty hours later. Near one of these, just in the middle of a lecture on horsemanship, the Frenchman's horse stumbled, and, to his utter confusion, he measured his breadth on the earth. He cut himself a little, but did not sustain any serious injury; so that after washing him, we proceeded; I patiently submitting to two hours' French oaths and invectives against the horses, the country, the Tartars, and the guides.

At seven we arrived at a small village; and our horses being completely tired, we agreed to remain there till the following morning, having rode twelve Turkish hours that day, in very disagreeable weather, and through dreadful roads. We found a species of amusement in the coffee-house, which we certainly had not expected, viz. a Turkish musician; and, as the Frenchman expressed it, a *farceur*. The performer's instrument was a species of guitar, with a very long neck, which he managed with considerable skill. His attempts at vocal performance were, however, truly ridiculous,—doleful, I might say; and the extravagant grimaces which he made, which were intended to represent to his phlegmatic Turkish audience the ecstasies of mirth, were so absurd, that they certainly produced them upon us. I added considerably to the hilarity of the evening by making the songster drunk with French brandy, of which I had a large store with me, without ever having had occasion to make use of it myself.

At five the next morning, we resumed our journey. The frost, which had become intense, had made the roads truly dangerous. It was pitch dark, and every instant our horses slipped into holes, which threatened to break their legs. As, however, day-light appeared, we were able to pick our way; and we soon saw a sight which was sufficiently interesting to draw our attention from our difficulties. After meeting a very large train

of baggage, horses, and mules, a body of, perhaps four hundred, splendidly equipped Turkish cavalry approached us. We soon perceived that it was the suite of a pasha of some distinction, from seeing his standard-bearer surrounded by a great number of delhis, with long lances. A most grotesque carriage, drawn by four horses, and a great number of splendid led horses, soon confirmed this opinion. It turned out to be Hussein Pasha, returning from the war, accompanied by Osman Pasha of Nissa. Among the numerous animals, biped and quadruped, none struck me more than a great number of the Negropont greyhounds. Imagine a greyhound, of the highest breed, cream coloured, having the most beautiful silky fringe along his belly, tail, and ears, the rest of his body smooth as a mirror. These dogs are extremely fleet, and very highly prized. He also had a great number of pointers, fox-hounds, and other dogs, with him; so I suppose he is a sportsman. This was all very pretty; but it plainly indicated to us what was to be our fate at the post-town of Charkoy, which we reached at about nine o'clock. After considerable expostulation and three hours' delay, we, however, ultimately succeeded in getting a number of peasants' horses to convey us on, together with permission to seize any return post-horses we might fall in with upon the road.

On leaving the town, we passed a strong stone castle, seemingly of not very ancient date, but very

similar to those you so often see in ruins in Germany. Like them, this was situated on a rocky projection, and its foundations were washed by a rapid stream. After proceeding about three hours, at a snail's pace, the peasants, to whom our horses belonged, being at least a mile in advance, they descried a considerable number of post-horses returning; but as it was suspected that the guides or post-boys, who had not been out of the saddle for three or four days and nights, would resist our attempt to kidnap them, and make their retreat through the open country, we formed a most scientific ambush among the copse-woods, and succeeded in capturing our prey.

After considerable swearing, lamenting, and noise, during which I seized the horse which appeared freshest, every thing was amicably settled by the distribution of a few piasters, and we proceeded at a much better pace, although with tired horses; for the peasants' ponies were totally unable to carry us.

We had been for some time ascending and descending rocky hills, and at last again emerged into one of the fertile plains with which this country abounds; but here an accident occurred which disturbed our harmony a little, and led to future disagreement between the courier and myself. We had to cross a brook partially frozen over; and between two and three feet deep in the middle. The two Tartars, two guides, four baggage-horses, and four

men escort, had safely passed. I also got over safely; but the poor fat Frenchman being rather timid, chose to remain on the edge of the broken ice, instead of forcing his horse at once into the deep part; the consequence was, that the ice gave way, and the horse losing its balance by an unexpected drop of two feet, spilt its rider into the middle. One of the escort had him out in a moment; but the poor fellow was doomed to many mortifications. He had not long before boasted to me of the peculiar safety of the place where he kept his despatches—a huge pocket in his pelisse, under his left arm: that being the side on which he fell into the water, you may imagine in what state they have arrived at Paris, particularly after being smoked at Semlin. Any thing like the volubility and pertinacity with which he now continued to pour forth every French oath and invective in common use in the *grande armée*, I never witnessed. For two hours, which we had to ride before we arrived at a coffee-house, he never ceased for one instant abusing the country, the horses, the brooks, the Tartars, the escort, the guide; and although to get a wetting on a cold day is sufficient to spoil a man's temper for a time, yet my fat friend never recovered his during the remainder of our journey. His disaster, together with a violent storm which commenced just as the night set in, induced us to remain at the coffee-house; so that we only performed ten hours, or eighty-

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five miles, during this day of mishaps. I gave the old man blankets to wrap himself in, while his clothes were drying; cooked him a mess of tea, eggs, and brandy, to secure him against cold; but all would not do, he remained as sulky as ever.

Next morning we ascended by far the most picturesque range of mountains we had yet seen. This outline was really magnificent, something like parts of the Jura, or perhaps the Lower Alps. On descending by a very bad road, which it certainly would have been dangerous to pass in the night-time, we heard the report of heavy artillery towards Nissa; and as I had frequently observed during our journey the timidity of my companion, I could not help paying him off for the bearish manner in which he had received all my deeds of charity towards him the night before. I accordingly observed, it was very likely that some popular tumult had broken out at Nissa, during the absence of the pasha, whom we had met. The discovery which I accidentally made, on hazarding this observation, amused me not a little. *Dieu! Dieu! mes pauvres schals!* The rascal had twenty-two Indian and Persian shawls with him, which he was going to smuggle into France, on a speculation of his own. Hence the reason of his hydro- and robber-phobia. I roared with laughter, which he took very much amiss. We found Nissa, however, as quiet as possible, and dined very comfortably, while our horses

were getting ready, for which we had to wait three hours, as usual. A short distance from Nissa, we observed the monument formed of the skulls of the Servians slaughtered by the Turks in one of the great battles which took place between them.

We left Nissa at three in the afternoon; and I observed that the town was both cleaner and the houses better than is usual in Turkish towns. The citadel struck me as very strong; and as the only tolerable specimen of fortification which I had seen on the whole road. The country we now entered differed in some respects from that which we had passed; trees became more frequent, and we were surrounded by low oak brushwood for many miles on each side of us. On leaving the town, my Tartar had forgot something, and sent back our guide. This hugely displeased my companion, particularly as I determined to await the guide's return. I repeatedly requested the courier to proceed, as I should certainly overtake him; but his answer was, *Non, monsieur; quand je suis en route, on ne m'attrappe pas! J'ai été trop long-tems courier, pour qu'on m'attrappe,*—and he then poured out such a string of gross abuse against my Tartar, that I was obliged to inform him that I was tired of listening to him, and that if the Tartar deserved abuse, it was my business to give it, and not his; but that as I was perfectly content with him, I begged he would keep his choice epithets for himself and party.

Upon this he rode off in a huff. My guide certainly kept me waiting a long time; but I nevertheless was at Rasna at one o'clock at night, and the courier did not arrive till half an hour later. As he did not choose to reply to a civil observation of mine, I of course took no further notice of him, but inwardly determined to humble him. I had ridden fifty-six miles this day, on very bad horses; and I slept, as you may imagine, very soundly, on the bare floor, from near two to half-past six. When I awoke, I found that the Frenchman had just stolen away. It was Christmas morning; and I had scarcely sufficiently awoke to be aware of it, when one of our king's messengers arrived, and delivered to me a letter in duplicate from my dear friend ———— announcing to me, with his usual kindness, that he had that instant heard of the safety of one of my family.

Elated with the good news I received, I can safely say that I never passed a Christmas day more truly happily. The exuberance of my spirits was soon felt by the poor jade under me; and I galloped merrily through forests of oak, and large pastures covered with snow. The Frenchman had started an hour and a half before me; but I caught him at a village twenty-one miles from our place of rest. I stopped to refresh myself and horses, and passed the old man at a round trot, before we got to the Morave, which we traversed by a good bridge. The courier, black in the face with

rage, endeavoured to make his horse keep up with mine, but in vain; he only got another tumble. We had now entered fairly Servia, and observed an attempt at the execution of justice by the road side. Three men were impaled for highway robbery and murder: I, however, ascertained that they had been shot previous to the infliction of this horrible operation.

About three I arrived at Iagotin, being half an hour a-head of the Frenchman. The postmaster here spoke German, and the people were evidently quite a different race. Our Tartars seemed conscious that they could not exercise in this country the same unlimited authority as elsewhere. The Prince of Novia Milosh certainly is endeavouring to civilise this country; and as a commencement, has begun to cut a straight and convenient road through the immense oak forests which cover the face of the whole country between this and Belgrade. The vast quantity of timber which lay felled on the side of this road to rot, made my heart sore. If we had but all these useless trees in England!

We did not leave Iagotin till near sunset. During my ride this night, I had occasion several times to observe of how little value timber is in this country. We repeatedly saw the finest oak trees in a blaze: a hole is cut near the bottom, and a fire lighted in it. This is the easiest way of clearing the ground. I arrived at the post-house in the middle of the forest

at about eleven o'clock, being again half an hour ahead of my companion.

I had ridden fifty-eight miles this day, with very little food, and could not obtain any thing at this place. Luckily, I still had some portable soup, on which I made a tolerable meal, adding a few crusts of bread. In consequence of this cooking, and the care I was obliged to take in dressing my leg, it was again one o'clock before I could get to sleep; and on awaking, I found the Frenchman had played me the same trick, and was off. I started at half-past seven, having dressed my leg, and drank a little tea: so I was again an hour and a half behind him; but it was written in the book of fate that he should not escape me. I felt extremely unwell and feverish this morning; but attributing it partly to want of nourishment, I stopped at a cook's shop in a neighbouring village, and devoured a certainly not very tempting looking preparation of meat. This, and a large bottle of the wine of the country, completely set me up again, and I arrived at the post-town of Hussein Pasha Aga before the courier. Here we were obliged to wait five hours for horses; and being determined to lay in a stock of viands, in case I should find nothing at night, I approached a peasant who had just killed a sheep, and purchased a leg. This I cut into slices, and fried, or rather broiled on the coals, with the assistance of my Tartar. I also employed

the time I thus unexpectedly got in again dressing my leg. The wounds with which I had left Constantinople were completely healed; but my old shot wound had opened, and gave me considerable uneasiness; I was therefore not a little glad that I had only fifteen hours more to Belgrade, and I determined to do as many of them as possible during the night. I pushed on, therefore, briskly; but nature would not. I am convinced I slept for near an hour, while my horse was trotting on in the dark. I at last determined to stop at a village at eleven o'clock, and take a few hours' rest; as the two nights previous I had only slept about four hours each, and had rode fifty-eight miles each of the days preceding. This day I had only rode forty-two miles, on account of the delay experienced in procuring horses at Hussein Pasha. After all, one hundred and sixty miles riding, with only about eight hours and half sleep, is pretty fair. I threw myself on the floor, and was fast asleep in a minute, so as not even to notice the arrival of the courier, who had had another tumble, and had also determined to bring up at the village. I enjoyed this night the sweetest sleep of seven hours I ever remember to have had, and jumped up quite fresh again. Before I started, it was one hour and three quarters since the fat Frenchman left; but as I galloped up and down hill, without fearing a fall, I managed to get to the post-house, fourteen miles,

in two hours, while he had taken nearly four. I was lucky enough to find some milk here; and after a hearty breakfast, I started to finish my short distance of five hours (seventeen miles and half) to Belgrade. I had already obtained a sight of the Danube on coming down the heights, behind the post-house; and the prospect of my soon leaving that mismanaged country Turkey, raised my spirits *not a little.*

My road lay over extensive downs, which suddenly drop towards the river Save: on this declivity stands the famous fortress of Belgrade. The fortifications, all but the citadel, are in the most wretched state of ruin; and the town itself would be every thing that is vile, if the monotony of Turkish wooden architecture were not here and there broken in upon by houses belonging to Christians, and built on models brought from the other side of the river.

On arriving at the banks of the Save, I found *that, owing to the ice,* it was impossible for a boat to get as far as the quarantine establishment at Semlin, and that I should be obliged to walk at least three miles over the snow. This was out of the question, on account of my leg: I accordingly sent a Turk over with a letter to the authorities, requesting them to prepare a room for me, and send a sledge, stating my reasons for not being able to walk. While I was in anxious expectation of the appearance of this sledge,

arrives the courier, who, hearing of my dilemma, immediately hires six stout porters for his baggage, and crosses the river to walk to Semlin, chuckling at being the first there, after all. *Me voilà planté*, thought I: but happily my sledge arrived; and before we had proceeded two miles, I found the courier stuck fast in the snow, exclaiming, *Ah, monsieur! je ne puis plus, je suis achevé!* I took pity on him, and took him and his baggage on my sledge to the quarantine. I went further: night having set in, and only one fire being lighted for me, I permitted him to remain the first night in my room; but observing the next morning evident signs of an intention to establish himself with me, I requested him to retire, as I had written to the commander-in-chief for a few days' grace, and must, on that account, not remain in communication with any other person.

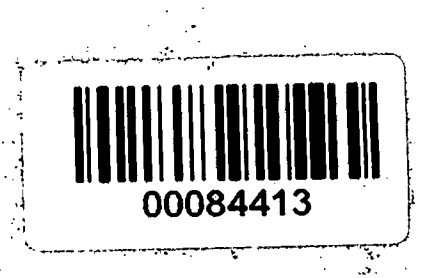
The hole I am in is truly miserable. Conceive a stone room, with two small windows, a brick floor, and a wooden platform, such as you see in soldiers' guard-rooms, running round two sides of the room. This, and a stove, formed the only furniture I had the first night. I have since bought a mat for the floor, a table, a chair, and a mattress, together with a wash-hand basin and jug; for I literally found nothing. My dinner is brought me daily from an inn nearly a mile distant, greasy and cold; and I am not allowed to stir out of a courtyard five yards by six. It is

really a blessing that I have received five days' grace.

The day after my arrival here, an English messenger, who left Constantinople two days later than the French courier, brought me your letter, which had arrived a few days after my departure.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
J. MOYES, TOOK'S COURT, CHANCERY LANE.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